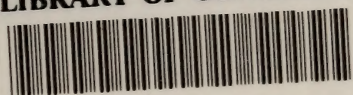
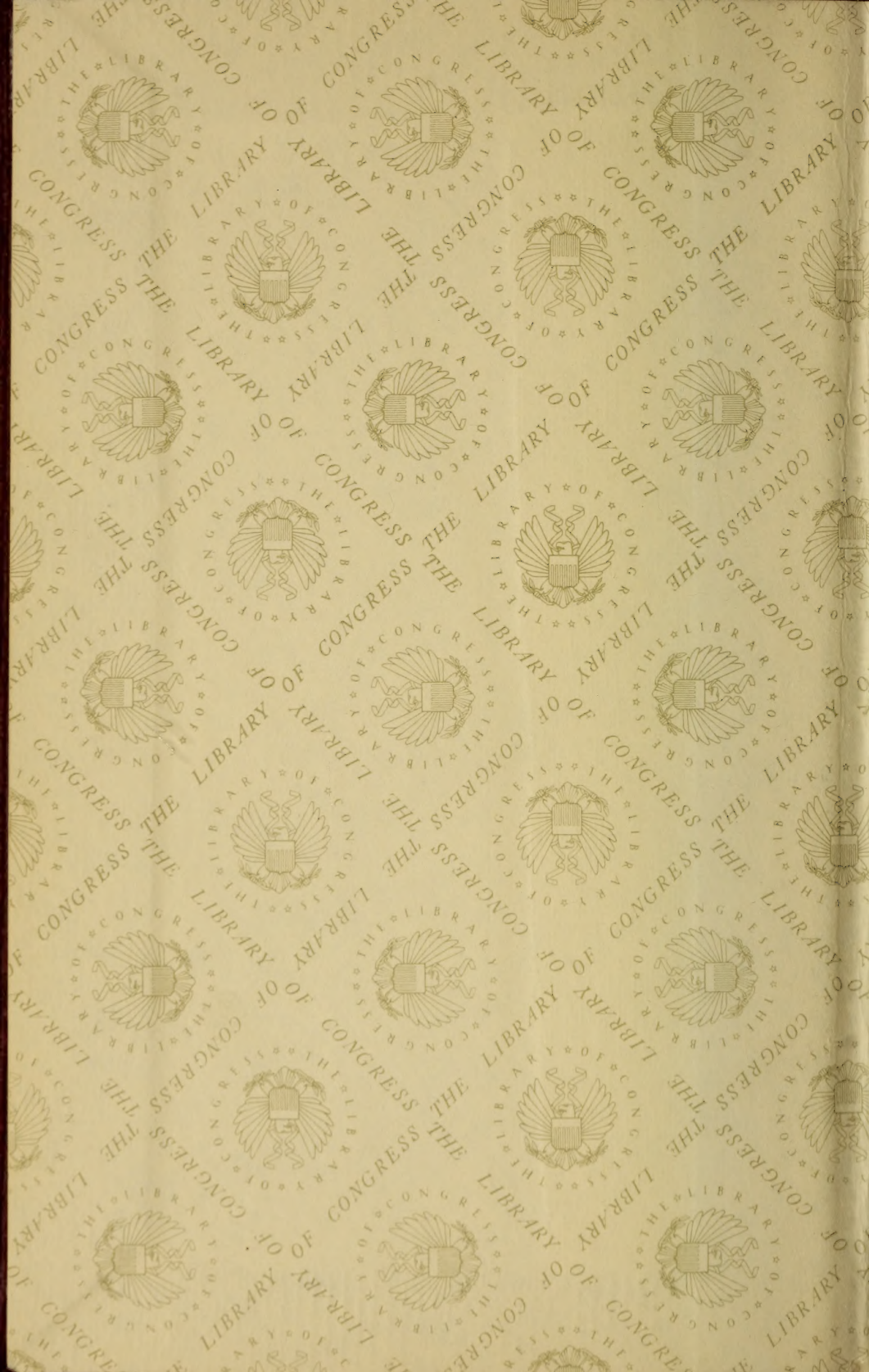


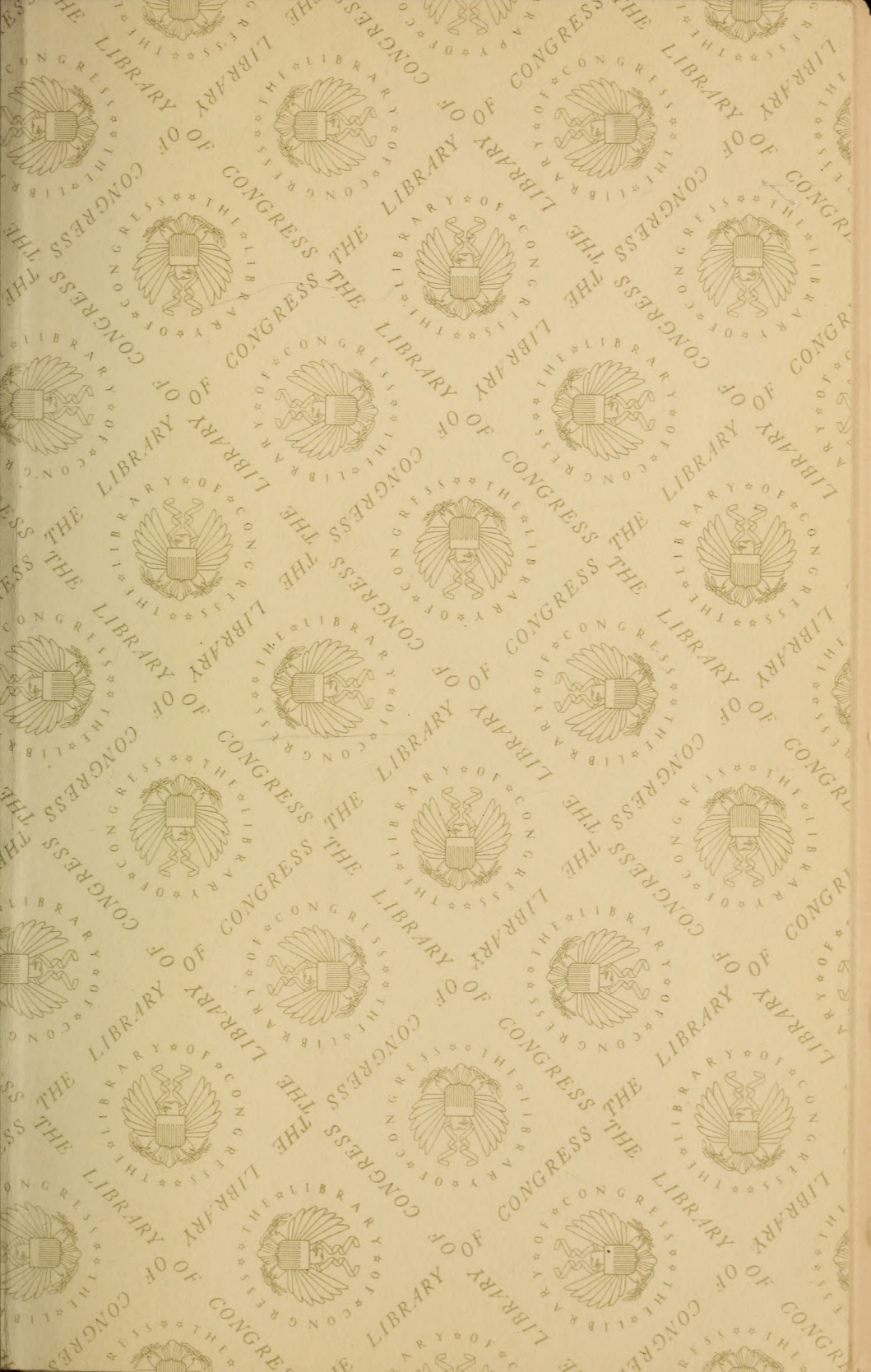
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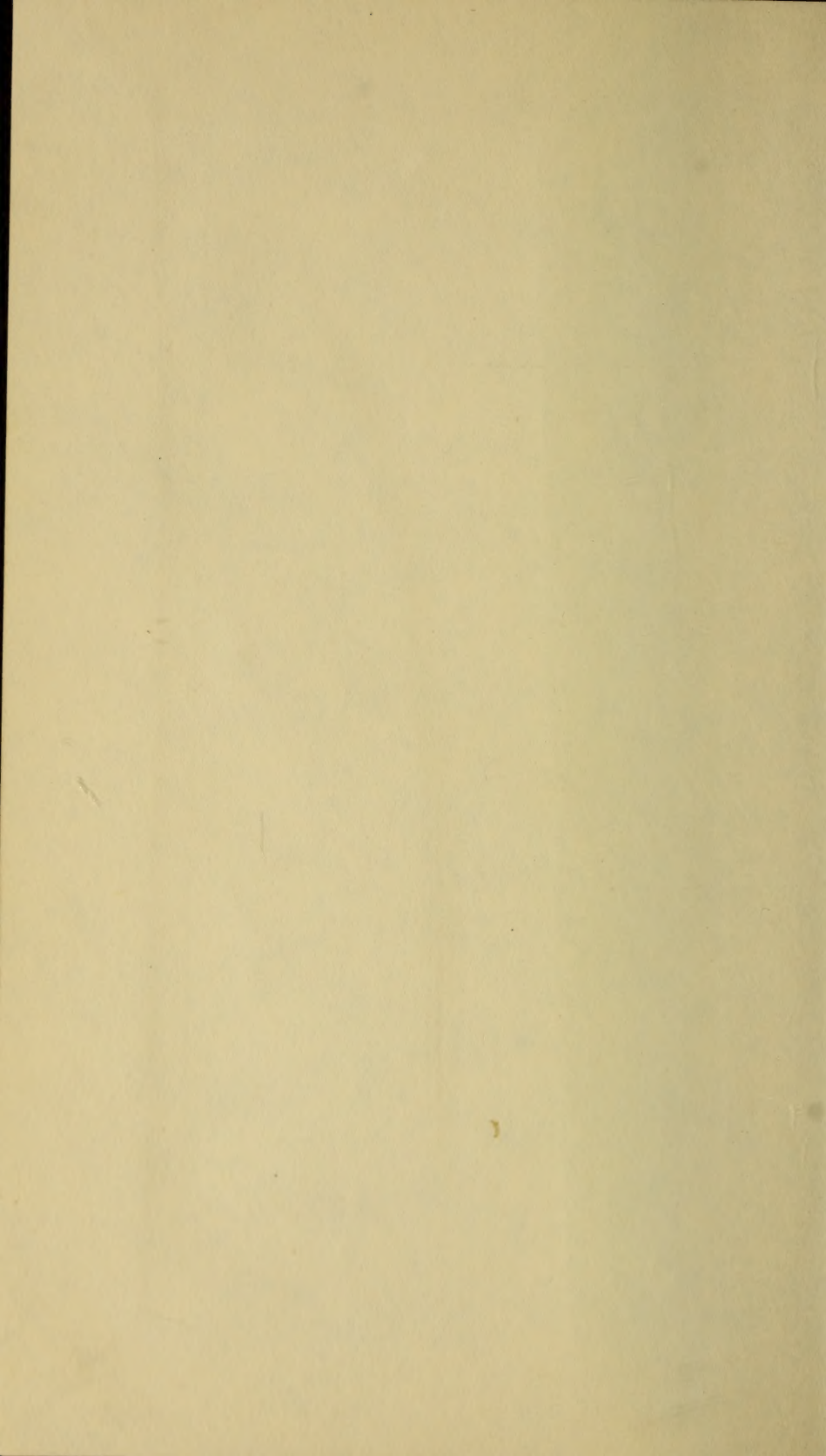


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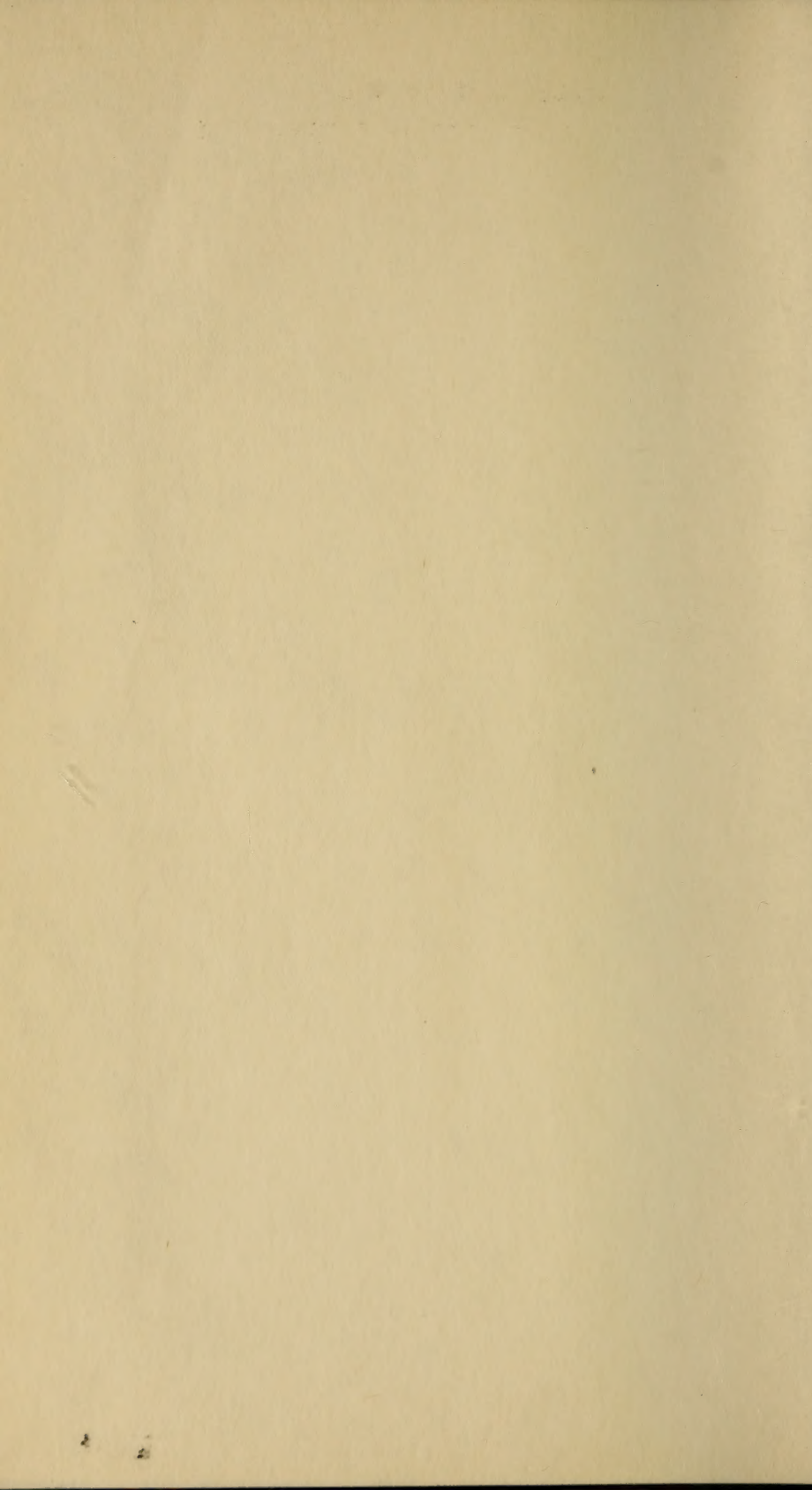














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**GREEK ROMANCES**  
**IN ELIZABETHAN PROSE FICTION**

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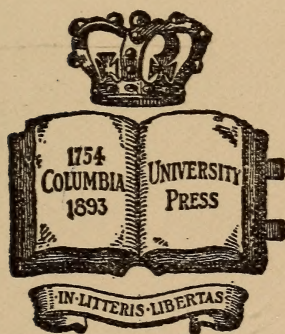
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THE GREEK ROMANCES  
IN  
ELIZABETHAN PROSE FICTION

BY  
SAMUEL LEE WOLFF, PH.D.



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No 1



*This monograph has been approved by the Department of  
English and Comparative Literature in Columbia University as  
a contribution to knowledge worthy of publication.*

A. H. THORNDIKE,

*Secretary.*





## PREFACE

The subject of this book has not, as far as I know, been treated before. Though the influence of Greek fiction upon the fiction of the Renaissance has been noticed at some length by Dunlop and by Professor Warren; and though Herr Brunhuber, Herr Oeftering, and Mr. Moody have observed a portion of Sidney's indebtedness to the Greek Romances; yet no other attempt has been made, I believe, to disengage the characteristics of Greek Romance and to trace them into English fiction of any period. The present attempt results in the discovery of a distinct vein of influence in Elizabethan literature, and in some interesting specific discoveries: viz., that Heliodorus and Longus are respectively a secondary and a primary source of Shakespeare; that Lyly's "Euphues" probably occupies a place in a long tradition that goes back to Greek Romance; and that both Sidney and Greene were steeped in the matter and the style of Greek fiction. The further discovery that Sidney went so far as to remodel his "Arcadia" upon the pattern of Heliodorus's narrative structure would have been impossible but for Mr. Dobell's find of manuscripts of the "Old Arcadia." To all my known predecessors I make grateful acknowledgment, both here and in the text.

The present study has been confined to the five chief writers of Elizabethan fiction,—Lyly, Sidney, Greene, Nash, and Lodge. Minor writers like Sanford and Warner, even when known to

have used the Greek Romances, have received only passing mention; nor has the Catalogue of the British Museum been searched for titles suggestive of Greek Romance. My bibliography, thus, does not profess to be complete; it was compiled upon a frankly utilitarian basis, and contains very few titles not actually referred to in the book. With the same design of usefulness to the reader, the Index has been made rather full.

I am under obligations to the authorities of the Libraries of Columbia, Harvard, Princeton, and the University of Michigan, for many courtesies. To the owner of the "Clifford" and "Ashburnham" Manuscripts of the "Old Arcadia," who prefers to remain unnamed, and to Mr. A. T. Porter of London, both of whom most kindly allowed me the free use of their property, my special acknowledgments are due. My friend Dr. S. M. Tucker, Professor of English at the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, gave me indispensable assistance in seeing this book through the press. To Professor A. H. Thorndike, of Columbia University, I am obliged for many excellent suggestions.

Professor Woodberry was "the onlie begetter" of the studies which have at last issued in this book; and my indebtedness to him is greater than I can express or he would own. Professor J. B. Fletcher, of Columbia University, has given freely his valuable advice and criticism, as well as a personal interest and encouragement without which my work, however auspiciously begun, would hardly have been completed.

NEW YORK, November 15, 1911.



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# THE GREEK ROMANCES IN ELIZABETHAN PROSE FICTION

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## PART ONE

### THE GREEK ROMANCES

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#### CHAPTER I

##### INTRODUCTORY

##### GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS; CHRONOLOGY; ANALYSES

The present study assumes the existence of the Greek Romances, and looks forward in time to their influence upon Elizabethan prose fiction. It is therefore concerned with their origin or evolution only in as far as these may help to characterize the Greek Romances themselves. It makes no attempt to identify the borrowings of Achilles Tatius from Plutarch or from Aristotle, from Aelian or from Ovid; it cares not whether Heliodorus lived before or after Xenophon of Ephesus, or which of the two imitated the other; and it waives the question whether the Greek Romances are an outcome of Greek historiography or teratology, or of Alexandrian erotic poetry, or of the Ionic novella, or of Oriental

fiction, or of all. It is content with the certainty that all the Greek Romances were earlier than the writers of Elizabethan fiction, and that certain Greek Romances were known to these writers. The table on pages 8-10 will show concisely what Romances were accessible to persons who wrote prose fiction during Queen Elizabeth's reign (1558-1603). It is with the chief of these writers, and with those Romances which are found to have influenced them, that the present study has to do.

The long and elaborate form of Greek prose fiction known as the Romance was a late and puny child of the Hellenic imagination. It came into being during the decline of Greek literature, and found a place there only after the greater *genres*—epic, lyric, drama, oration—were dead. It rose, too, after the destruction of Greek nationality, and was not inspired, as were the earlier *genres*, by a broad communal tradition of religion, myth, morals, and polity. So it was at once individualistic—the work of writers expressing their own fancies rather than the common imaginative fund of the Hellenic race; and cosmopolitan—the work, often, of writers actually not Greek, but African or Asiatic,—writers from Pergamon, or Antioch, or Alexandria.

It came, moreover, after the schools of Alexandria had given their decisive ply to the literature that was to follow. The Alexandrian, whether artist or critic, emphasized the picturesque, the rhetorical, the fanciful, elements in

both life and letters. He was interested rather in diversity than in unity, and cared more for a series of idylls or word-pictures than for an extensive single sustained act of creative imagination. Theocritus (VII. 45-8) and Callimachus (Epigram 30; Hymn to Apollo, 105 ff.), Alexandrians both, agree for instance in deprecating the production of long epic poems; and Apollonius Rhodius, who so offended his master Callimachus by writing one, is held to have justified in that very act the opinion of Callimachus that the day of the epic was past.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the Alexandrian liked the parts better than the whole, and lingered to elaborate whatever pleased. Admitting everything that would entertain, he allowed episode, digression, irrelevancy, to withdraw attention from the principal theme. Life itself would move before him not as a whole, made one by law, physical or moral, but as a series of spectacles and emotions—"for to admire and for to see." In the physical world as interpreted by him, event does not produce event; the bond of causation is loosed, and the door

<sup>2</sup> See Couat, "La Querelle de Callimaque et d'Apollonius de Rhodes," in *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques*, vol. 11 (1877), p. 103 (a paper embodied with some changes in the last chapter of his "La Poésie Alexandrine"); Susemihl, "Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit," I. 169, 208, 350, 353, 384. "Die meisten alexandrinischen Dichter verschränkten sich mit richtigem Gefühl auf Dichtungen von geringem Umfang, und hier gelang es ihnen wirklich noch manches Neue und ächt Poetische zu schaffen, namentlich in der Schilderung individuellen Seelenlebens, in der anmutigen Darstellung zarter, sentimentaler und leidenschaftlicher Empfindungen." (Susemihl I. 169.)



opened to chance.<sup>3</sup> In his moral world, the choices and decisions of life—hardly realized as choices or decisions at all—are lightly made, undeliberated, often unmotivated. Between the two worlds, inner and outer, there is no vital interaction: human character does not affect human destiny, indeed scarcely affects environment; nor on the other hand do conduct and environment react upon and develop character. Sentiment, the inward working of emotion, does not issue in action, and so becomes mere sentimentality, to be lingered over, sipped, and degusted, for its own sake. And in the “world of description,” the movements and the sounds and shows of *things*—alien to the nature of conduct, and not humanized, like the classical “setting” or “background,” by the uses of man—these too are lingered over for their own sake, because they are picturesque, and take the sense with immediate pleasure. The absence of unifying interaction between the mental and the physical order has left the Alexandrian either engrossed in sentiment out of all contact with reality, or sunk in matter unspiritualized.

As the links of Cause are broken, and Fortune takes direction of the affairs of men, events are no longer calculable, as they had been in any imaginative work based, like the Attic drama for example, upon the ancient myths, and exhibiting “the laws of the gods”; indeed, their interest

<sup>3</sup> A far cry from Anaxagoras's strictly classical and scientific view that what we call “chance” is causation as yet unknown: *αἰτία ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ ἄδηλος*. (Diels, “Fragmente,” I. 306, Frag. 66.)

comes to lie in their very incalculableness.<sup>4</sup> The reader's pleasure no longer consists in seeing law work itself inexorably out, but in being surprised, shocked, made to "sit up," by the unexpectedness, the queerness of the turns things take. The paradoxical, the bizarre, the inconsistent, the self-contradictory—these were stock in trade with the writers of Greek Romance.

When it is remembered, too, that these writers were professional rhetoricians, their hunger for paradox is seen to assume quite naturally a second phase:—it becomes a sophisticated chase after contrasts. The Greek Romances fairly bristle with pointed sentences turning over *ad nauseam* some shallow "conceited" antitheton. And such writers, one may be sure, were not too much occupied with ideas to neglect alliteration of words, parallelism and balance of the members of the sentence, and many another aid to antithesis.

Few professional artists in language, again, can resist their tendency toward a conscious display of their art. Given a world of sentimentality, the sophist will expatiate upon the "psychology" of it, and tell his reader just how a certain person felt upon a given occasion, and why he wept, or was speechless; or he will let the person himself, by means of soliloquy or tirade

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle (*Poet.* IX. 11-12) recognizes the value of both these elements: that event, he says, is most effective, which is unlooked for, but at the same time strictly caused. The Greek Romances, in neglecting the second element, give undue force to the first. In fact, the "Poetics," chs. VIII and IX (on Plot), and VI and XV (on Character), constitute by anticipation the most concise and trenchant possible criticism of the Greek Romances.

or letter or lamentation, set forth the conflict of his own feelings. Given a world of sound and show, the same sophist will make it the subject of a rhetorical set-piece; will insert (relevant or irrelevant, what matter?) long word-paintings, *tours de force* of descriptive writing; or he may go so far as to envisage the whole course of his plot as a succession of pictures.<sup>5</sup> Himself a talker by trade, he will rejoice in great talking-matches, such as grow out of trials at law; and will give the speeches in full. He will now and again enliven his page with a *débat* or *dubbio*, and show what can be said on each side of some question in aesthetics or love.

The Greek Romances abound in such irrelevant or episodic matter: glittering disputations, or antithetical letters and monologues; set-pieces of rhetorical pyrotechny; descriptions of paintings, statues, jewels, utensils, gardens and the like; narratives of local mythology, tales of marvellous beasts—puerile accounts of the phoenix and his pious son, of the elephant's sweet breath, and the terrifying aspect of the giraffe—with much other "unnatural natural history." Plot and character, minimized and often eclipsed by such digressions and episodes, fall far too much under the control, respectively, of Fortune and of sentimentality, which are in their turn frequently made the subject of lengthy tirades—Fortune railed upon in good set terms, sentimentality analyzed to death by means of a shallow and distorted "psychology."

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Andrew Lang: "Theocritus and his Age," pp. xxxvii, ff.



It is not here asserted that the schools of Alexandria originated any of the tendencies that are found in such exaggerated form in the Greek Romances. Pictorial description or word-painting appears as early as the Shield of Achilles, and has a long and honorable life in Greek poetry; "the unexpected" we have seen recognized by Aristotle; rhetorical antithesis was the gist of the teaching of the early sophist Gorgias; puerile marvels are not wanting in Herodotus. What is asserted is that Alexandria fostered all these tendencies together as they had never been fostered before, and that she transmitted them to those later schools which produced the Greek Romance. Furthermore, and this is the main point, these tendencies are, in the Greek Romance, not just combined mechanically; the combination rests upon a new and unclassic view of life, and hence of literature—a view which would have been abhorrent to Homer, Aristotle, and Herodotus, and even to Gorgias.

The foregoing sketch—an attempt at a general characterization of the Greek Romance, may serve to introduce analyses of the three chief specimens of the *genre*: "The Æthiopica," or "Theagenes and Chariclea," by Heliodorus; "Clitophon and Leucippe," by Achilles Tatius, and "Daphnis and Chloe," attributed to Longus; the only extant Greek Romances which are found to have exercised any influence upon Elizabethan prose fiction. Upon these analyses a more extensive critical discussion will be based.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Written (A.D.).	Author.	Title.	First printed, translated, etc.
Middle of first century.	Unknown.	Nimrod- or Ninus-fragment.	1893 ( <i>Hermes</i> , Vol. XXVIII).
End of first century. 166-180.	Antonius Diogenes. Iamblichus.	Marvels Beyond Thule, or Dinias and Dercyllis. Babylonica, or Rhodanes and Sinonis. Chaereas and Callirrhoe.	Photius: "Bibliotheca" (166). Ed. princ. 1601. <i>Ibid.</i> (94).
Before 200.	Chariton of Aphrodisias.		Ed. princ. 1750, D'Orville, Amsterdam.
Third century.	Xenophon of Ephesus.	Ephesiaca, or Habrocomes and Anthea.	Extract, tr. Lat. by Poliziano: "Miscellanea," Venice, 1498. <sup>1</sup> Italian translation, 1723.
Before 400: perhaps 250-300.	HELIODORUS.	ÆTHIOPIKA, or THEAGENES AND CHARICLEA.	Ed. princ. 1726, Cocchi, London. Ed. princ. 1534; Basel, Opsopoeus (ex officina Hervaegiana). 1547, tr. Amyot, French. 1551, tr. Warschewiczki, Lat. 1569 (qu. 1577?) tr. Underdowne, Eng.
?200-400? (Croiset) ?100-200? (Christ)	LONGUS.	DAPHNIS AND CHLOE.	1587, Underdowne, 2d or 3d Ed. 1559, tr. Amyot, Fr. 1569, Latin paraphrase by Lorenzo Gambara. 1587, Day's version of Amyot. 1598, Ed. princ. Florence, Giunta.

Written (A.D.).	Author.	Title.	First printed, translated, etc.
Not earlier than fourth century, but possibly end of fifth or beginning of sixth.	ACHILLES TATIUS.	CLITOPHON AND LEUCIPPE.	1544, Books V-VIII, tr. Lat. by Annibale della Croce. 1546, Books V-VIII, tr. Ital. by Lodovico Dolce. 1554, complete(?) tr. Lat. by Annibale della Croce. 1560, complete tr. Ital. by Angelo Coccio. 1568, complete tr. French by B. Comingeois (Belleforest?). 1597, tr. English by Wm. Burton. 1601, Ed. princ. Heidelberg, Com- melin.
Latin version probably of sixth century; lost original (?) third century.	Unknown.	Apollonius of Tyre. <sup>1a</sup>	Current throughout Middle Ages.

<sup>1</sup> Poliziano gives only an inconsiderable excerpt from "Habrocomes and Anthea," I. ii, viz., the description of the feast in the Temple of Diana, where the lovers first meet.

<sup>1a</sup> The influence of "Apollonius of Tyre" is so much more a matter of mediaeval than of Renaissance literary history, and has been treated so adequately by others, that its omission from this study is thought to be justified.



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*Continued*)

Written (A.D.).	Author.	Title.	First printed, translated, etc.
Twelfth century, (Byzantine).	Eustathius Makrembolites.	Hysminias and Hysmine.	1550, tr. Ital. 1559, tr. French. 1617, Ed. princ. with tr. Lat., Paris, Gaulmin.
Twelfth century, (Byzantine).	Constantinus Manasses.	Aristander and Callithea (verse).	Fourteenth century: voluminous extracts in the 'Ροδωνία, an an- thology compiled by Macarius Chrysocephalus. 1819, Ed. princ. Boissonade, Paris. 1819, Ed. princ. Boissonade, Paris. 1625, Ed. princ. Gaulmin, Paris.
Twelfth century, (Byzantine).	Nicetas Eugenianus.	Charicles and Drosilla (verse).	
Twelfth century, (Byzantine).	Theodorus Prodrromus.	Dosicles and Rhodanthe (verse).	

## HELIODORUS:

ÆTHIOPICA, OR THEAGENES AND CHARICLEA<sup>5a</sup>

A. The daughter of Hydaspes and Persina, King and Queen of Ethiopia, was born white (IV. viii), her mother at the moment of conception having gazed intently upon a painting of white Andromeda. Persina, fearing lest this explanation should not satisfy the jealousy of her husband, exposed the child, who was saved (II. xxxi) by Sisimithres, an Ethiopian nobleman and gymnosophist, forbidden by his philosophical tenets to abandon any living thing. With the child he found and preserved a ring and other jewels (IV. viii), as well as fillets upon which were inscribed the reasons for her exposure. He had her reared by shepherds.

When she was seven years old (II. xxx, xxxi) he took her with him to Catadupi—the Cataracts of the Nile—upon an embassy committed to him by Hydaspes. Oroöndates, Viceroy of Egypt under the Great King, was disputing with Hydaspes the title to the City of Philae and to the emerald mines near it on the border between Egypt and Ethiopia. Sisimithres, perhaps fearing the consequences to himself and his ward of the uncompromising claims he must make on behalf of Hydaspes, entrusted the child, with her

<sup>5a</sup> A, B, etc., designate portions of the story for convenience in referring to them as wholes. Roman numerals designate book and chapter of the original text.

jewels and tokens, to one Charicles, a priest of Apollo. As Charicles had recently lost his own wife and daughter (II. xxix), he had left Delphi to seek consolation in travel, and now happened to be at Catadupi. He accepted the charge (II. xxxii). Sisimithres's prudence was justified by the event, for Oroöndates ordered him out of Catadupi at once on pain of death. [We hear no more of him till the very end of the story.] With Charicles the child returned to Delphi, received the name *Chariclea*, and herself became a priestess of Diana (II. xxxiii).

B. (a) When Chariclea had arrived at marriageable age, there came to Delphi two persons—the Memphian Calasiris, a priest of Isis (II. xxvi), and Theagenes a Thessalian, a descendant of Achilles (II. xxxiv). Calasiris in his temple had been tempted by the charms of Rhodopis a courtesan (II. xxv), and wished to fly from the temptation; moreover, having divined that there would be a deadly combat between his sons, he wished to avoid the fulfilment of the prediction; and, finally, he deemed Delphi an appropriate place of retirement for one of his priestly caste (II. xxvi). Theagenes had come to celebrate memorial rites (II. xxxiv) in honor of his ancestor Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles. Having made friends with Calasiris, Charicles partly told him, and partly by showing him Chariclea's tokens enabled him to discover for himself (IV. viii), the story given in *A*. Further, he requested the wise Egyptian's aid (II. xxxiii) in persuading Chariclea to take a husband—prefer-



ably Charicles's nephew Alcamenes. But Theagenes and Chariclea had seen each other at the games and ceremonies, and had already fallen in love with each other (III. v; IV. i-iv). Each now confided in Calasiris (III. xvii; IV. iv, v, x-xiii); and an oracle (II. xxxv) and several dreams and divine voices (III. xi; IV. xiv, xvi) predicted their ultimate union, and sanctioned their immediate flight under his protection. While Chariclea therefore upon his advice (IV. xiii) feigned consent to her marriage with Alcamenes, Calasiris took passage for the three (IV. xvi) with some Phoenician mariners who chanced to be sailing from Delphi to Carthage. Under his instructions Theagenes abducted Chariclea, and joined Calasiris (IV. xvii-xviii), who put the pursuers on a false scent (IV. xix). The three sailed away together (V. i). The lovers agreed (IV. xviii) to remain virgin till their nuptials could be formally celebrated, and meanwhile gave themselves out as brother and sister, and Calasiris as their father (V. xxvi).

*B. (b)* The captain of the Phoenician vessel became enamored of Chariclea (V. xix), and both she and Calasiris deemed it best to feign consent to the marriage, postponing it, however, till their arrival at Memphis (V. xx). The ship wintering at Zacynthus (V. xviii), our trio lodged with Tyrrhenus a fisherman. Though so near Ithaca, they neglected to pay their respects to Odysseus, whose offended shade appeared in a vision (V. xxii) to threaten Calasiris. Trachinus, a pirate of the neighborhood, desired both

Chariclea and the richly laden ship, and confided to Tyrrhenus his plan of attack (V. xx). Tyrrhenus warned his guests, who at once re-embarked (V. xxi-xxii). Nevertheless Trachinus overtook them, seized the vessel with its freight, and allowing the Tyrian captain and his crew to depart in the boats, kept our trio prisoners (V. xxiv-xxvi). Upon his offering marriage to Chariclea, she again dissembled. A storm drove them to the Heracleotic mouth of the Nile, where they landed, and Trachinus prepared for an immediate wedding (V. xxvii-xxix); whereupon Calasiris devised a stratagem. He persuaded Pelorus, Trachinus's lieutenant, that Chariclea loved him (V. xxx), and inflamed him with the sight of her in bridal array, so that Pelorus disputed with his captain the distribution of the booty, and, as the first to board the captured ship, claimed Chariclea for himself (V. xxxi). The feast turning into a fight, most of the pirates, including Trachinus, were killed; Pelorus in a hand-to-hand combat with Theagenes was sorely wounded and put to flight; and Calasiris was separated from Theagenes and Chariclea, who remained together on the shore (V. xxxii-xxxiii).

[Here the story opens, *in mediis rebus*.]

C. (I. i-iii) While Chariclea tended the wounds of Theagenes, there supervened a small band of Egyptian robbers, who seized the pair. Very soon, however, a larger band came up, under the command of one Thyamis.

D. (I. xix; VII. ii) Thyamis was the eldest

son of Calasiris. Shortly after Calasiris's departure from Memphis, Arsace, sister of the Great King and wife of Oroöndates, had become enamored of Thyamis. She solicited him, but he resisted. His younger brother Petosiris, desiring to succeed instead of Thyamis to the priestly office of his father, traduced Thyamis to Oroöndates, who banished him from Memphis. Thyamis had become chief of the bandits known as "Herdsmen."

*E.* He now took Theagenes and Chariclea from their first captors, conducted them to his retreat among the marshes of the Delta, treated them honorably (I. v-vii), and proposed to marry Chariclea, who again feigned consent (I. xix-xxvi). Their captivity was lightened by the companionship of Cnemon, a young Athenian, who spent the night in telling them *F* (*a*).

*F.* (*a*) (I. ix-xvii) Cnemon was the son of Aristippus, who took Demaeneta as his second wife. Enamored of her stepson, she solicited him, and upon his refusal, plotted to ruin him. First she feigned illness and falsely accused Cnemon of kicking her: thus she had him beaten by his father. Then she made her slave girl Thisbe gain his affection and confidence, and persuade him to believe that Demaeneta had a paramour who was to visit her on a certain night. Cnemon with drawn sword broke into the chamber and confronted—his father. Aristippus in the belief that his son had attempted parricide accused him to the Assembly, which banished him. The love-sick Demaeneta thereupon re-



lented; and desiring his return bitterly blamed Thisbe for having been but too compliant. In fear for herself, Thisbe determined to entrap her mistress. Cnemon, she said, was not abroad, but hiding in the outskirts of Athens, where he kept a slave-girl Arsinoe, a friend of Thisbe's: Demaeneta, if she would, might in the dark take this girl's place. Demaeneta consented to the assignation, and Thisbe actually procured from Arsinoe the use of her house. Meanwhile Thisbe told Aristippus that at Arsinoe's house Demaeneta was to meet a paramour. Aristippus broke in and caught his wife, Thisbe slamming a door and pretending that the lover had escaped. Demaeneta, on the way back to Athens in the custody of her husband, threw herself into a pit and ended her life. Aristippus reported all to the Assembly, which barely exonerated him.

*F. (b) (II. viii-ix)* Now it happened that Thisbe ousted Arsinoe from the affections of one Nausicles, a merchant, and Arsinoe in her jealousy revealed her rival's stratagem to Demaeneta's relatives. They brought the matter again before the Assembly, which found that Demaeneta was innocent, and that, as Aristippus had been instrumental in procuring her death, he must be banished and his goods confiscated. The witness he needed to clear him, Thisbe, was absent, having gone abroad with Nausicles.

*F. (c) (VI. ii)* These facts came to the knowledge of Cnemon, who, faithful to his father, set out in search of Thisbe in order to reinstate him. Cnemon was captured by pirates,

but escaped, and made his way to Egypt, where he was taken prisoner by Thyamis.

G. That night Thyamis dreamed (I. xviii) that Isis in her temple appeared to him and said, "I deliver this maiden to you, but though you have her you shall not have her, but shall kill your guest; yet she shall not be killed." This dream he interpreted to suit his wishes. The next day (I. xxvii-xxx) he was suddenly attacked by the robbers who had first seized Theagenes and Chariclea, and who had meanwhile gathered reinforcements. For safety he made Cnemon place Chariclea in the cave where he kept his treasure. Desperately pressed by his enemies, and determined that no one else should have her, he entered the cave, and in the dark stabbed a woman whom he took to be Chariclea.

H. This woman was really Thisbe (II. xiv). On her travels with Nausicles she had been captured by Thermuthis, the lieutenant of Thyamis, and, like Chariclea, had been placed in the cave. When Cnemon and Theagenes rejoined Chariclea there, they found on Thisbe's body (II. vi) a letter written by her to Cnemon, whom she had seen to be a fellow-captive,—protesting (II. x) the genuineness of her love for him despite her treachery, and imploring him to save her from her barbarous lover. Cnemon thereupon told *F* (*b*) (II. viii-ix). That night (II. xvi) Chariclea dreamed that a ruffian gouged out her right eye: a dream interpreted by Cnemon as portending the death of her father.

K. (I. xxxiii) Thyamis was taken alive by

his enemies, who designed to deliver him to his brother at Memphis for the sake of reward. This reward Petosiris had offered in order both to get Thyamis back into his power and to set at rest the rumor that he had killed Thyamis.

L. Thermuthis (II. xii) escaped from the hostile band, found Thisbe dead in the cave, joined Theagenes, Chariclea and Cnemon, told them his part of *H* (II. xiv), and set out in search of Thyamis (II. xviii). He insisted upon Cnemon's bearing him company, who complied, upon Theagenes's suggestion that he might easily desert Thermuthis whenever he would. So Cnemon, agreeing to rejoin Theagenes and Chariclea at the town of Chemmis, went with Thermuthis, but soon, pretending to fall behind by reason of sickness, contrived to leave him alone (II. xix-xx). Thermuthis falling asleep was stung by an asp, and died. Meanwhile, Theagenes and Chariclea, disguised as beggars (II. xix; V. iv), also set out for Chemmis.

M. (II. xxi) On the banks of the Nile near Chemmis, Cnemon encountered Calasiris, who had wandered thither from the Heracleotic mouth of the Nile (see *B ad fin.*). Here also Nausicles, in the course of his search for Thisbe, had placed his headquarters, and had taken as a guest Calasiris, similarly engaged in a search for his adopted children (II. xxii). Now Calasiris extended to Cnemon the shelter of Nausicles's house, and there told Cnemon *A* and *B* (*a*) (II. xxv-xxxvi; III entire; IV entire; V. i).

N. Nausicles himself was absent (II. xxiv).



He had bribed Mithranes, the lieutenant of Oroöndates, to send a detachment of troops in search of Thisbe, and was now with them. They met (V. v-vii) and captured Theagenes and Chariclea. Mithranes, designing to send Theagenes as a present to the Great King, dispatched him to his commander Oroöndates, then at Memphis (V. ix). Chariclea was promptly claimed as Thisbe by Nausicles (V. viii), who whispered to her that her safety depended upon her acknowledging that name. She did so, and Nausicles took her to his house at Chemmis, unbeknown to his guests. That night (V. ii-iii) Cnemon overheard her lamenting her fate and calling herself Thisbe; and he was sore afraid. Next day she was restored to Calasiris (V. xi-xv), to whose claim Nausicles yielded her. Calasiris told *B* (*b*) (V. xvi-xxxiv); Cnemon, *F* (*c*) (VI. ii).

*O.* (VI. iii-viii) Thyamis managed to make his escape (see *K*) and to gather another band from the town of Bessa. With this he attacked Mithranes's force, and took Theagenes. These facts were learned by Calasiris, Chariclea, Nausicles and Cnemon on their way to redeem Theagenes from Mithranes. They returned to Chemmis. There Nausicles offered Cnemon his daughter to wife. Cnemon took her gladly, and threw in his lot with his father-in-law, who was about to go to Greece. [This is the last of Cnemon and of Nausicles.]

*P.* (VI. xi-xv) Calasiris and Chariclea disguised as beggars made their way to Bessa to

find Theagenes. Arriving at sunset, they learned from an old woman that Mithranes had sought to punish the Bessenens for their attack, but had been defeated and killed: and that the insurgents under Thyamis, in order to strengthen themselves against the Great King, from whom they could no longer hope for pardon, had now proceeded to attack Memphis itself—Oroöndates being absent upon an expedition into Ethiopia: Theagenes, then, was to be found towards Memphis. The old woman retired, and now believing herself unobserved, raised the dead body of her son, slain in the fight, and by her spells compelled it to prophesy: "She herself should shortly die a violent death; the priest then present might if he made haste prevent the fatal outcome of a combat between his sons; the maiden would be united with her lover." Seeking to destroy the witnesses to her necromancy, the witch stumbled, and fell upon the point of a spear that stuck up from the field. Thus she died.

*Q.* Arrived before the walls of Memphis (VII. i-iii), Thyamis and Theagenes, now grown friends, called for a parley, and demanded Thyamis's restoration to the priesthood. In the absence of Oroöndates, his wife Arsace as regent came to the walls, and beheld the two young men. Straightway her old desire of Thyamis gave place to new desire of Theagenes (VII. iv). Yet she so far favored Thyamis as to grant that his quarrel with Petosiris should be decided by single combat between them. Petosiris re-

luctantly accepted his brother's challenge, tried to run away, and was chased round the walls by Thyamis (VII. v-vi). Theagenes, unarmed, accompanied Thyamis: so that Arsace became still more passionately enamored of Theagenes's grace as a runner. At the moment when Thyamis was about to strike (VII. vi-vii), arrived Calasiris with Chariclea. The old man threw off his rags, appeared in his sacred garb, stopped the combat, and reconciled his sons. Theagenes not recognizing Chariclea in the beggar-girl before him, rebuffed and struck her when she tried to embrace him; but she murmured their countersign *Pythius* and exhibited her torch: whereupon he knew her and completed this scene of recognition. Received enthusiastically by the Memphians (VII. viii), who flocked about them, they all entered the city in a sort of triumphal procession.

Calasiris now inducted Thyamis into the priesthood, resigned his own robes, and died (VII. viii, xi), perhaps of joy in this consummation. (Thus verifying an oracle he had received upon his arrival at Delphi: that he should soon possess a piece of Egyptian ground.) His funeral rites made it unlawful for any but priests to enter the precincts of the temple for seven days. Thus Thyamis was rendered unable to keep Theagenes and Chariclea there under his own protection, and they were left to the designs of Arsace (VII. ix-xv). She lodged them well in the palace, and, assisted by her old chamber-woman, Cybele,



who acted as go-between, gradually acquainted Theagenes with her wishes. He repeatedly refused her (VII. xix, xxii, xxv)—despite Chariclea's advice (VII. xxi) to him to feign compliance—and at a public audience gave her scant respect. Cybele's son, Achaemenes (VII. xv–xvi), formerly an officer under Mithranes, had been given charge of Theagenes to take him to Oroöndates. Now he recognized him; and, seeing Chariclea too, fell in love with her. When his mother, who had failed to persuade Theagenes, was in fear of Arsace's threats, he offered Arsace a sure means of forcing Theagenes to comply (VII. xxiii–xxiv), provided she would promise him "Theagenes's sister" to wife. She consented, and he thereupon told her that Theagenes was in reality her slave, as he had been taken in war and destined for her husband to send to her brother the Great King. Arsace now made Theagenes her servant at table. But when she told him that she had granted "his sister" to Achaemenes, he pretended that his resistance was overcome (VII. xxv–xxvi), requested private audience with only Cybele as witness, revealed Chariclea's real relation to himself, and urged that as Arsace had promised Achaemenes not "Chariclea," but "Theagenes's sister," she might lawfully disavow her supposed promise. He himself, he said, would yield as soon as she did so. Thus he again raised himself into high favor, still further inflamed Arsace (VII. xxvii) by his grace in serving her at table, and frustrated Achaemenes. Informed by his

mother (VII. xxviii), Achaemenes at once posted off to Oroöndates (VII. xxix) who was then preparing a campaign against the Ethiopians *in re* the still unsettled question of Philae and the emerald mines (see *A*). Him he told of Chariclea's beauty, and of Arsace's conduct toward Theagenes. Oroöndates forthwith sent peremptorily for both the prisoners (VIII. i-iii).

Meanwhile Theagenes had resumed his resistance, and at the instigation of Cybele had been imprisoned and flogged (VIII. iii, v-vi) by order of Arsace. It was in vain that Thyamis (VIII. iii-v), now at liberty after the period of ritual seclusion, requested Arsace to turn the lovers over to his care. She declined to give them up. Theagenes in his cell continually called upon the name of Chariclea (VIII. vi); whereat Cybele conceived the idea that if Chariclea were put out of the way, Theagenes would yield. With Arsace's permission, therefore (VIII. vii-viii), she attempted to poison Chariclea. But the slave-girl who offered the cups accidentally interchanged them, and Cybele drank the poison. Yet even as she died, her malice worked: by signs she charged Chariclea with poisoning her. Arsace had Chariclea imprisoned (VIII. ix) and on the next day arraigned; who defied her, but declared that if Theagenes were, as she supposed, dead, she would acknowledge the crime, that she too might die. Thereupon she was condemned to the stake. But the stone Pantarbe in her ring kept her unscathed in the midst of the flames. Pitying her beauty and manifest

innocence, the people rescued her; but Arsace recaptured her and harangued them to the effect that she had been saved by witchcraft only: next day they should come and themselves should have an opportunity to condemn her upon all the evidence. Meanwhile, as an additional torment, that she might behold her lover's sad plight, she was committed to the cell occupied by Theagenes; but they regarded this course as a favor, and spent the night in talk. Chariclea related (VIII. xi) that on the previous night Calasiris had appeared to her in a vision and bidden her be of good cheer, for Pantarbe would save her. Theagenes related that Calasiris had on the same night appeared to him and predicted that on the morrow the lovers should escape and soon reach Ethiopia. The fulfilment of the first prediction made them look confidently for that of the second.

Indeed, that very night (VIII. xii-xv) Oroöndates's deputy arrived, and, showing his authority, removed the prisoners and conducted them towards Oroöndates. On the way a messenger overtook them to announce that Arsace upon learning of their removal had killed herself. Later a messenger from the front met them with the news that Oroöndates had gone to Syene, which was threatened by the enemy (VIII. xvi-xvii). Travelling in that direction, the lovers were shortly captured by a scouting party of Ethiopians, who conveyed them to the army of Hydaspes.

Hydaspes was besieging Oroöndates in Syene (IX. i-xxii). By means of great trenches and



earthen dykes he surrounded the city with the waters of the Nile, which, insulating it, rose against its walls, and threatened to break through and drown the inhabitants. Oroöndates capitulated, offering to surrender Syene, as well as Philae and the emerald mines, and to undertake no further hostilities, if he were allowed to depart with his army to Elephantis. Meanwhile he dispatched two messengers thither. Pending negotiations, Hydaspes granted a truce, and by new feats of engineering led off the waters of the Nile. Then, by night, Oroöndates and his army treacherously made their escape by means of planks laid across the mud-ring, and at Elephantis joined the main force of Persians, prepared by the messengers he had sent. Returning with all his troops, he retook Syene, which was guarded by only a small garrison. Then Hydaspes fought a great battle, and defeated and captured Oroöndates, but spared him, forgave his treachery, and (IX. xxv) made him Viceroy under himself.

With the other prisoners Theagenes and Chariclea (IX. xxiii-xxiv) were presented to Hydaspes, who by reason of their exceeding beauty reserved them to be sacrificed when they should reach Ethiopia. Chariclea,—though Theagenes urged her, and though Hydaspes related a dream he had had which showed him a daughter of his own like Chariclea in appearance,—would not then disclose her identity. She was determined to wait till she should be in her mother's presence, whose instinct could not fail to identify her.

Here and now her tokens might be misunderstood, and might be supposed to be stolen.

To Meroe, then, the prisoners were taken—Hydaspes's capital; where they were met by Persina, with the priestly gymnosophists, and great numbers of the Ethiopian people (X. i-vi), all rejoicing in the victory. When led forth to the sacrifice, Theagenes and Chariclea (X. vii) astonished all by their beauty and courageous bearing. Chariclea particularly appealed to the sympathy of Persina, who hoped that in the trial of chastity which was to establish the purity of the victims she might *fail* and so be saved. Not so (X. viii, ix): she leaped upon the heated golden bars of the altar, but remained unscathed. So too did Theagenes. And now the president of the gymnosophists—no other than old Sisimithres—declined to make, or to countenance by his presence, a human sacrifice, and with his band was about to withdraw, when Chariclea (X. x-xv), hearing the King address him as Sisimithres, saw that the moment had come, and begged him to remain. In his presence she then disclosed her identity; offering in evidence her inscribed fillets, which Persina acknowledged at once; her striking resemblance to the pictured Andromeda; the ring Pantarbe, which Hydaspes recognized as the betrothal ring he had given his wife; and a black mark which Sisimithres remembered to have seen on the arm of the child he had found. Chariclea (X. xi) claimed exemption, for that only foreigners might be sacrificed. Hydaspes, only too ready to grant it

upon personal motives, yet felt obliged to offer, in a long speech to his people, to sacrifice his daughter nevertheless for their sake, lest the gods be wroth with them all. But the multitude unanimously refused (X. xvi, xvii). Thus was Chariclea saved.

In the most absurdly mock-modest, round-about, underhand, and self-contradictory fashion, she proceeded (X. xviii-xxii) to give her parents incomprehensible hints about her true relations with Theagenes—now imploring his preservation, now demanding that she alone might wield the knife to sacrifice him—until Hydaspes actually thought her mad. To give her time to recover, he took the opportunity to receive the ambassadors who had come to congratulate him. One of them was his nephew Meroëbus (X. xxiii-xxiv), whom he at once bethrothed to Chariclea. Meroëbus presented to Hydaspes a gigantic athlete (X. xxv)—a champion racer, boxer and wrestler,—whose challenge nobody accepting, he received a prize by default. Among the other gifts was a camelopard (X. xviii-xxx). This strange and terrifying creature so frightened a sacrificial bull and two white horses that they broke loose and galloped about. In the confusion, Theagenes, whose keepers had relaxed their guard, leaped upon one of the horses, and, without attempting to escape, pursued the bull and drove him in a team with his own mount; at length, having tired him out, he leaped upon him and dragged him to the ground by the horns. The people shouted acclaim, and demanded that



he be matched with the wrestler. Him too he felled (X. xxxi-xxxii). The King then crowned Theagenes victor, who made the same petition as Chariclea had made,—that she be the one to wield the knife. This request was refused, and he was being led to the altar (X. xxxiii), when who should appear but Charicles! Ever since Chariclea's elopement he had been wandering in search of her, and had now traced her to Egypt, whence he had taken this last step by the aid of Oroöndates, from whom he bore (X. xxxiv) a letter to Hydaspes. Seizing Theagenes (X. xxxv-xxxvi), Charicles demanded his punishment for the abduction of Chariclea and the sacrilege done to the temple of Diana at Delphi! Theagenes admitted the charge (X. xxxvii). Chariclea welcomed Charicles (X. xxxviii), and begged him to punish her for her disobedience to him, enjoined though it was by the gods. Persina, now convinced that our lovers were man and wife, so assured Hydaspes. He turned for advice to Sismithres, who in a loud voice, that the people might hear and approve (X. xxxix-xli), declared that the gods had manifested clearly their unwillingness to receive this or any other human sacrifice: let the custom, then, be abolished, and this young couple be formally wedded. The people again shouted approval; and so, with the consent of all, Theagenes and Chariclea proceeded to the celebration of their nuptial rites.

## LONGUS:

## DAPHNIS AND CHLOE

## Preface (Prooemium)

Hunting on Lesbos, I saw in a beautiful grove a painting representing the incidents of a love-story,—“the fortunes of Love”: women in labor, nurses swathing new-born babes; infants exposed; animals suckling them; shepherds carrying them away; young people embracing; an attack by pirates; an inroad by a hostile force. I procured an explanation of the series, and wrote out these four books—an offering to the God of Love, to the Nymphs, and to Pan.

## Book I

i-iii. Lamon, a goatherd upon an estate near Mitylene, found in a thicket one of his she-goats suckling a boy-baby, who lay exposed in a very rich mantle, with a little ivory-hilted sword. He took the boy with the tokens home to his wife Myrtale, who agreed with him to adopt the child. They named him Daphnis. iv-vi. Two years later Dryas, a neighboring shepherd, found in a cave sacred to the Nymphs, one of his ewes suckling a girl-baby, who besides swaddling clothes had gilt sandals, golden anklets and a head-dress wrought with gold. He took her with her tokens to his wife, and they adopted her, calling her Chloe.

vii-x. When Daphnis was fifteen and Chloe

thirteen, their adoptive fathers had on the same night a vision of a winged boy with bow and arrows, to whom the Nymphs presented Daphnis and Chloe, and who, touching them with one of his shafts, bade them follow the pastoral life. So they tended their flocks together in the springtime, and played in childlike peace, until Love contrived a serious interruption. xi-xii. Daphnis pursuing a goat fell into a pit that had been dug to catch a wolf, and was rescued by Chloe with the help of a cowherd. He was so covered with mud and dirt that he must needs bathe.<sup>6</sup> [xiii-xvii. As Chloe helped to wash him, she saw the beauty of his sunburned skin and felt the softness of his flesh, and so first experienced love. She languished, lay awake, took no food, and soliloquized with many antitheses and oxymora.

Dorco the cowherd became enamored of Chloe, gave her many rustic gifts, and at length vied with Daphnis in argument as to whether Daphnis or he were the more beautiful—the prize to be a kiss from Chloe. Daphnis was the winner; and the kiss set his heart on fire. He too languished and grew pale; he too soliloquized] with (xviii) much oxymoron.

xix-xxii. Dorco asked Dryas for the hand of Chloe, but was refused, as Dryas hoped for a better match. Thus thwarted, Dorco resolved to carry off Chloe, and, in order to terrify her, clothed himself in a wolf's skin and hid among

<sup>6</sup> The passage between brackets is the fragment discovered by P. L. Courier in 1807; and is of course unknown to the Renaissance. It is D, p. 135, l. 13-p. 137, l. 21, both included.



the bushes near her pasture-ground. But her dogs scenting him attacked and bit him sorely, before Chloe, and Daphnis whom she had called, could come to his rescue. Both Daphnis and Chloe thought the disguise merely an innocent jest on the part of Dorco. They collected their flocks, which had been scattered by the barking of the dogs, and, tired by the day's exertion, slept soundly that night despite their lovesickness.

xxiii-xxvii. Now Daphnis and Chloe again tended their flocks together in the growing summer heat, which still further inflamed them. Chloe milked her ewes and she-goats, and crowned herself with a chaplet of pine. Daphnis bathed, and Chloe put on his dress. They pelted each other with apples. Daphnis taught Chloe to play upon his pipe, and gained kisses at second hand by touching quickly with his lips the places her lips had touched. Once when Chloe fell asleep at noonday, a grasshopper pursued by a swallow dropped into her bosom, and the swallow fluttering over her awoke her. She screamed; but Daphnis laughed at her alarm, and with his hand took out the happy grasshopper, which she kissed and replaced in her bosom. At the sound of a ring-dove's cooing, Daphnis told Chloe the legend: how the dove was once a maiden, a tender of flocks, sweet-voiced; and how a youth contending with her in song charmed away eight of her cows. She prayed to be transformed into a bird; the gods granted her prayer; and still she calls her cows, in vain.

xxviii-xxx. In the early autumn, some

Tyrian pirates descended upon that coast. After a struggle with Dorco they drove off some of his oxen; and finding Daphnis alone upon the shore, carried him away too, calling upon Chloe for help. She ran to Dorco, who, sore wounded and about to breathe his last, gave her his pipe, with the direction to play upon it the call his oxen knew. Then he died, taking one kiss from her as his reward. Chloe played the well-known tune; whereupon the oxen thronged to one side of the pirate ship and leapt overboard, capsizing it and precipitating the crew and Daphnis into the water. The pirates, weighed down with their armor, soon drowned; Daphnis, lightly clad, swam ashore between two oxen, grasping a horn of each.

xxx-i-xxx-ii. They celebrated in rustic fashion the funeral of Dorco. Then Chloe bathed Daphnis, and for the first time in his presence bathed herself; so that he was nigh distracted.

## Book II

i-ii. Now came the vintage; and Daphnis and Chloe left their flocks and helped. The women admired Daphnis, the men Chloe, who both wished themselves back at the herding. At length, when the grapes were all trodden and the new wine stored in casks, they returned, and rejoiced with their flocks. An old man named Philetas, sitting near, accosted them, and told them this Idyll:

iii-vi. "I have a beautiful garden. Today when I entered it about noon, I spied a little

naked boy under my pomegranates and myrtles, some of which he had plucked. I sprang to catch him, but lightly he escaped; and when I paused exhausted, he came near and smiled so irresistibly that I offered him the freedom of my garden for a kiss. Laughing he replied: 'One kiss from me would only make you run after me for more; and in vain, for you could never catch me. Child though I seem, I am older than Saturn or old Time; and I have known you, Philetas, of old. I was by when you wooed Amaryllis: she and your sons were my gifts to you. Through me it is that your garden blooms. But just now I am shepherding Daphnis and Chloe.' Like a young nightingale he sprang up among the myrtles, and vanished, but not before I saw wings upon his shoulders, and a bow and arrows between. Depend upon it, you are consecrated to Love."

vii-xi. "What is this Love?" they asked, "a child or a bird?"

Philetas answered in praise of Love, telling of his dominion over all nature and over the gods themselves; of the pains he inflicts: heat, cold, and desire, loss of appetite and of sleep; and of the remedies: to kiss, embrace, and lie naked together. Hereon they mused; and, when Philetas had gone and they had returned home, they realized, each of them, that the symptoms he had described were their own. Next morning they tried for the first time the first two remedies, and on the following day a literal version of the third, but without avail.



xii-xix. At this time some young men of Methymne came to spend the vintage in hunting and fishing along this coast. A peasant having stolen the cable wherewith they had moored their boat, they substituted a twisted willow-withe. The chase frightened Daphnis's goats down to the shore, where finding no other food they gnawed through the osier; so that a rising swell carried away the boat and its contents. The youths found Daphnis, gave him a beating, and were preparing to bind him, when Lamon and Dryas appeared in answer to his cries, and insisted upon a fair hearing for both sides. Philetas as the oldest man present was chosen as judge, and, having heard the youths and Daphnis plead their cause, decided for Daphnis. Enraged, the Methymnaeans seized Daphnis again, but were beaten off by the countrymen and had to make their painful way home on foot. There they told as much of the story as favored themselves, and incited their fellow citizens to make war on the Lesbians.

xx-xxiv. The invaders with a fleet ravaged the coast, seized Daphnis's herds and carried off Chloe—though she had fled for asylum to the grotto of the Nymphs, where she had first been found. Daphnis not finding her at their usual haunts lamented her to the Nymphs, who reassured him in a vision, promising the aid of Pan, to whom they recommended him now to pay due honors. So he did, and returned home.

xxv-xxx. During that night and the next day the Methymnaean fleet was beset with Panic

terrors: the earth appeared to be in a blaze, hostile vessels seemed to approach with clashing oars, the goats' horns were wreathed with ivy, the sheep howled like wolves, Chloe herself was garlanded with pine-branches; anchors stuck, oars were split, dolphins leapt from the sea and shattered the vessel's planks; and from the top of a neighboring headland were heard the terrific notes of Pan's own pipe. At length Pan himself addressing the commander in a dream bade him restore Chloe and the goats and sheep, which being immediately landed, Pan's pipes guided, now playing a sweet pastoral measure, over this strange country back to Daphnis.

xxxix-xxxviii. Daphnis and Chloe gratefully sacrificed to the Nymphs and to Pan; Lamon and Dryas, Philetas and his young son Tityrus assisting at the feast. Each of the participants contributed to the entertainment. xxxix. Lamon related the legend of Pan and Syrinx, and of the invention of the pipes of Pan. xl. Philetas on his own great pipe played all the varieties of pastoral melody—the tune for oxen, the tune for goats, the tune for sheep—and finally the vintage-dance. xli. This Dryas danced in pantomime, imitating every process of the vintage. xlii-xliv. Then Daphnis and Chloe in pantomimic dance enacted Pan and Syrinx—Daphnis at length playing so sweetly upon Philetas' pipe his lamentation for the Nymph transformed, that Philetas bestowed upon him the pipe. Daphnis dedicated his old boyish pipe as an offering to Pan; and with

Chloe driving homeward their flocks and herds, so ended the day. Next morning they met earlier than usual, again tried in vain the remedies of love, and vowed mutual fidelity.

### Book III

i-iii. Mitylene now sent an army against Methymne, which, by this time, discovering the true cause of the fray to have been the insolence of her own young men, asked for peace and offered to restore all the spoils—an offer which was at once accepted. “Thus did the war between Methymne and Mitylene begin and end in an equally unexpected manner.”

iv-xi. Now winter came, and snow blocked the roads and shut the cottagers within doors to their fireside occupations. Chloe was kept at the spinning and the wool-carding, but Daphnis went abroad to snare birds in the trees near Chloe's cottage, hoping for a pretext to enter and see her. When he had snared a bagful without seeing a sign of life from within, he was just about to depart when Dryas himself—in chase of a sheep-dog that had stolen his meat—came out and heartily invited Daphnis in. Daphnis and Chloe met and embraced; she served wine, herself sipping first, and he drank at the spot her lips had touched. Then they all sat by the fire, and at length Lamon and Myrtale invited Daphnis to remain till the morrow. He gladly accepted, and gave them his bag of birds for supper. So they sat round the fire again, drinking and singing and telling stories till bed-



time. Next day Daphnis and Chloe snared birds together, and again exchanged vows, and told of their longing for the spring. Then Daphnis took his leave, but often thereafter contrived occasion for new visits.

xii-xx. At last came spring once more, all living creatures loved, and Daphnis and Chloe, themselves shepherded by Love, went forth before all the other shepherds, that they might be together alone. Daphnis now grown bolder in love tried to treat Chloe as he saw the rams treat the ewes, and the he-goats their mates, but still in vain. And now Lycaenium, the young city wife of their old neighbor Chromis, gave Daphnis a lesson in love. This however he would not practice with Chloe, fearing to hurt her.

xxi-xxiii. As they sat together, a fishing-boat passed near them, the boatswain and the sailors singing a rowing song and chorus, which the echo prolonged and redoubled. "Was there another sea behind the hill, and other sailors singing?" Chloe asked when all was still again. Daphnis smiling told her the legend of Echo—stipulating for a reward of ten kisses: 'Echo, the daughter of a nymph and of a mortal, learned from the Muses every kind of music. She refused marriage, and fled the sight of men. Pan in his indignation inspired the shepherds with such frenzy that they tore her limb from limb. Her melodious body, though covered with earth, still preserves its gift of music, and imitates all sounds, even those of the pipes of Pan,—

who, when he hears her, rushes over the hills to find his hidden pupil.' Chloe gave him kisses not ten but a thousand.

xxv-xxix. This summer Chloe had many suitors, who offered rich gifts; but Dryas still postponed a decision, in the hope of a more brilliant match,—aware as he was that Chloe was something above a shepherd's daughter. Daphnis in distress at the chance of losing her, desired to ask her hand, but his foster-parents also disapproved, wishing to reserve him for a less humble bride. Moreover, Daphnis himself was poor. Now he prayed to the Nymphs, who in a vision told him that the boat of the young Methymnaeans had been driven ashore and wrecked, leaving a purse of three thousand drachmas under a bunch of seaweed near a dead dolphin, the smell of which had kept others from finding the treasure. This very smell guided Daphnis to it, who boldly offered it to Dryas as his wooing gift.

xxx-xxxiv. Dryas accepted, and went to gain the consent of Lamon. This Lamon gave, subject to the consent of his master, who was expected from Mitylene in the autumn to visit his estate. Joyfully Dryas returned and told the news to Daphnis, joyfully Daphnis received it and ran to tell Chloe. Her he found at the milking and cheese-making, wherein he helped her openly, as her affianced; and then they went together to look for fruit. One bright particular apple, golden and fragrant, and solitary on the top of the tree, Daphnis climbed for, and plucked,

and gave to Chloe; and she gave him a kiss more precious than a golden apple.

#### Book IV

i-vi. In preparation for his master's visit, now announced definitely by a neighbor, Lamon set in order his house and his garden. Soon another messenger, Eudromus, came with orders for them to get in the vintage: at the end of the vintage the master would come. Daphnis gave Eudromus many gifts, who returned to Mitylene well pleased.

vii-x. Lampis an insolent herdsman, and an envious wooer of Chloe, desiring to destroy Lamon's interest with his master and so spoil her match with Daphnis, broke into Lamon's garden at night, and uprooted, broke, or trampled down the flowers. All were in despair until Eudromus—coming to announce the arrival of the master in three days, and that of his son the next day—counselled them to tell the whole to their young master Astylus. Astylus, who in fact came next day with Gnatho his parasite, heard the story, and promised to intercede for them with his father,—promised indeed to lay the blame upon his own horses, which he would say had done the damage.

xi-xii. Gnatho now made paederastic proposals to Daphnis, who knocked him down. Still Gnatho hoped to obtain him as a gift from Astylus.

xiii-xv. Meanwhile, Dionysophanes and Clearista arrived, and, well pleased with what they



saw—for they excused the condition of the garden—promised Lamon his freedom. Then they inspected the herd of goats, which they found to have prospered under Daphnis's charge, and they listened while Daphnis put the goats through a drill, to the sound of his pipe.

xvi-xvii. Gnatho now with arguments in favor of paederasty asked Daphnis of Astylus, who promised to beg him of Dionysophanes. xviii. This conversation, overheard by Eudromus and reported to Lamon, determined the latter to reveal the circumstances of the finding of Daphnis. xix-xx. Accordingly, upon Dionysophanes sending for Lamon and telling him that Daphnis would accompany Astylus, Lamon told his story and produced the tokens. xxi-xxiii. These Dionysophanes and Clearista recognized as having been exposed with their own youngest child; and Astylus at once ran for Daphnis. Fearing that he was to be treated with violence, Daphnis ran to a cliff, ready to throw himself into the sea; but his brother reassured him, and brought him to their father, who told them the story of the exposure: xxiv. Having married young he had had a daughter and two sons—with which issue being content, he had exposed his fourth child; but the daughter and one son soon thereafter had died on the same day, leaving Astylus the only survivor: so that the parents now rejoiced at finding Daphnis again.

xxv-xxix. Daphnis still performed his duties as herdsman. While his friends and parents feasted, and while he said farewell to each of his

pastoral implements and occupations, Chloe wept, fearing that he would forsake her. Lampis seeing his opportunity and certain that Daphnis would not marry her, gathered a band of rustics and was carrying her off, when Gnatho rescued her, in the hope of thus conciliating Daphnis; who did indeed forgive him when Chloe was restored.

xxx-xxxiii. Daphnis now proposed to marry Chloe secretly: but Dryas published the circumstances under which he had found her. With a view to the happiness of Daphnis, his parents consented to the marriage, and received Chloe, and arrayed her splendidly. She too said farewell to her flock, and hung up her pipe, her scrip. her cloak, and her milking-pails; and with the others went to the city.

xxxiv-xxxvi. There, on the eve of the marriage-feast, the Nymphs and Love appeared to Dionysophanes, bidding him exhibit Chloe's tokens to each of the wedding-guests. So he did, and they were acknowledged by Megacles, a man of high rank in Mitylene. He told the story of Chloe's exposure: She had been born at a time when his wealth had been exhausted; and he had exposed her in the hope that some wealthier person might adopt her. Then his riches had increased, when he had no heir; but the gods had continually sent him dreams signifying that a ewe would make him a father! With great joy he received Chloe for his daughter.

xxxvii-xl. Next morning they all returned to the country; for Daphnis and Chloe were tired of

the city, and wished a rustic wedding. And so did they celebrate it, with pastoral splendor; and at last, too, found the remedy of Love! To Love, to Pan, and to the Nymphs, indeed, they consecrated their lives; and their first child, a boy, was suckled by a goat; their second, a girl, by a ewe.



## ACHILLES TATIUS:

## CLITOPHON AND LEUCIPPE

## Book I

i. (Sidon described: its double harbor.) Arriving in Sidon after a storm, I made a thank-offering to Astarte, and then went about the city and looked at other offerings. There I saw a picture of Europa. (Picture of Europa described.) ii. I exclaimed upon the power of Love, which could master even Zeus; where-upon a young man standing by declared that he had himself experienced that power. We retired to the banks of a stream in a grove of plane-trees, where he told his story:

iii. I am Clitophon, the son of Hippias of Tyre. My mother died when I was an infant. My father marrying again had a daughter Calligone, to whom he wished to marry me; but Fate decreed otherwise. (Disquisition on fate as pre-figured by dreams, which enable men not to avoid it but only to dull the edge of their suffering.) When I was nineteen years old, Fortune began the drama I shall relate. I dreamed one night that my body from the middle downward was one with the body of a maiden, and that a woman of horrible aspect, with a sickle in her right hand and a torch in her left, cut us apart. This dream I regarded as a portent. My father had a rich half-brother, Sostratus, in Byzantium, from whom there now came a letter, recommending to my father's care during a war between

Thrace and Byzantium, the writer's wife Panthea and daughter Leucippe. iv. The ladies arrived immediately; and at first sight of Leucippe I fell in love with her. (Leucippe described. Love enters at the eyes.) v-vi. At supper I gazed and could eat nothing, but feasted my eyes like one banqueting in a dream. Thus I languished three days. vii. My cousin Clinias, two years older than I, a love-adept, I had always teased about his passion; but now I sought him and confessed that he had been right in predicting that I too should sometime be love's slave. From the symptoms of my vigil he at once concluded that I really was in love. While we were conversing, enter Clinias's favorite Charicles, to whom Clinias had recently given a horse. Charicles told us that his father wished him to marry a rich and ugly woman. viii. Thereupon Clinias burst into an invective against women and against marriage; but Charicles, as his marriage was not to take place for several days, put away thoughts of that calamity, and went to race his new horse—to take what was to prove both his first and his last ride.

ix-xi. I resumed my complaint to Clinias, who gave me explicit instructions in both the theory and the practice of love. (*Ars Amatoria*.) "All very well," said I, "but here success may be worse than failure: being betrothed to my father's choice, I cannot wed Leucippe even if I win her. I am torn between necessity and nature, I must decide between Love and my father; and Love with his arrows and his fire coerces the judge."

xii. At this point a slave rushed in, and reported that Charicles had been killed by a fall from his horse: After running two or three courses, he had let go the reins; and, still seated, was wiping the sweat from the horse's back, when upon a sudden noise the horse ran furiously away, rushed haphazard into a wood, dashed his rider off against a tree, and trampled him as he lay entangled in the reins. (Detailed description of the horse in action: he is like a ship in a storm; his hind feet try to overtake his forefeet, etc., etc.) xiii. Clinias, at first struck dumb by sorrow, now uttered loud cries; and we went to where the body had been carried—all one wound. Charicles's father lamented: "Ill betide all horsemanship! Others who die, though their soul be fled, preserve at least the beautiful semblance of their body—some poor solace to the mourner; but in thee Fortune has destroyed both soul and body, and thou hast died a double death. What now shall be thy wedding-day? Thou hast gone from bridal to burial; malignant Fortune has quenched the marriage torch, and instead the funeral torch shall be kindled for thee." xiv. Clinias, vying with the father in grief, exclaimed: "'Tis I that have caused his death: to this beautiful youth I gave a savage brute. I decked the murderer with gold. Beast! insensible to beauty, ungrateful to him that fondled and fed thee!"

xv. When the funeral was over, I hastened to Leucippe, who was in the garden (Garden elaborately described) with a slave Clio, looking at the peacock. xvi–xix. Just then he spread his tail and showed the amphitheatre of his feathers;



this I made the occasion of my speech, as I wished to lead Leucippe's thoughts to love. "The bird," I said to a slave Satyrus, "spreads his tail to attract his mate there under the plane-tree: it is for her that he displays the field of his feathers. But his field is more blooming than the meadow itself; for it has gold, and purple rings, and an eye in each ring." Falling in with my purpose, Satyrus asked; "Can love kindle even the birds?" "Why not," I answered, "when he himself is winged? More than that,—he kindles reptiles and beasts, plants and stones. The magnet loves the iron; the male palm droops for love of the female, and his pangs are allayed when the husbandman engrafts upon his heart a shoot from her. So of waters: Alpheus crosses the sea to Arethusa, bringing to her as wedding-gifts the objects cast into his waters by celebrants at Olympia. As for serpents—the viper, amorous of the lamprey, ejects his poison; and then they embrace." Leucippe seemed to listen not unwillingly to this amatory discourse. Her beauty surpassed that of the peacock, and vied with that of the meadow; her complexion was like the narcissus, her cheeks like the rose, her eyes like the violet, her hair like tendrils of ivy: so that "there was a garden in her face." Soon she went away to practise upon the harp; and Satyrus and I congratulated each other upon our tact.

## Book II

i. We followed, to hear her performance. She sang first Homer's combat of the lion and

the boar (Il. XVI. 823; B 371 n.), then the praises of the rose; and as she sang, I seemed to see a rose upon her lips, as if the flower's cup had been changed into them. ii-iii. We proceeded to supper. It was the feast of Dionysus patron of the vintage, whom the Tyrians claim for their own god. (Legend of the origin of wine.) On the table was a crystal winecup, of beautiful workmanship: from the vines engraved upon it hung clusters of grapes, unripe and green when it was empty, ripe and red when it was filled: and among them was Bacchus himself as vine-dresser. As the wine warmed us, Leucippe and I gazed more boldly at each other; for wine is the food of Love. Eros kindles the flame, and Bacchus feeds it.

Thus ten days passed, neither of us obtaining, or even seeking, aught but glances. iv. Then I confided in Satyrus, who said he had known my secret, but for fear of offending me had dissembled his knowledge. "Chance favors us," he continued, "for I have an amorous understanding with Clio, who has charge of Leucippe's chamber. But now you must do more than look. (*Ars Amatoria*.) Take courage, Eros is no coward; see how he is armed with bow and quiver, arrows and fire, all virile and daring. I will arrange with Clio to give you an interview alone with Leucippe." v-vi. He departed, and I was soliloquizing, when Leucippe entered alone. I turned pale and then red, but chance came to my assistance. vii-viii. The day before, a bee had stung Clio's hand, and Leucippe had mur-

mured over it a spell which had relieved the pain. This I had observed. It happened now that perceiving a bee or wasp flying about my face, I conceived the idea of feigning that my lip was stung. The stratagem succeeded: Leucippe approached her lips to mine in order to repeat her incantations, and thus gave me the opportunity to kiss her—at first clandestinely, then openly. But my pain, as I told her, was only aggravated; now the sting penetrated to my heart. “You must carry a bee upon your lips,” said I, “for your kisses are both honeyed and stinging.” Just then we saw Clio approaching, and parted. I felt encouraged. I guarded Leucippe’s kiss upon my lips as if it were a corporeal treasure left there. (The Praise of the Kiss.) ix–x. At supper, Satyrus interchanged my cup with Leucippe’s, upon which I kissed the place her lips had touched; and when the cups were again exchanged, she imitated me. Thus we passed the time in drinking kisses to one another. After supper Satyrus notified me that Leucippe’s mother had gone to bed unwell, and that he should draw off Clio. This was my opportunity. Armed with wine, love, hope and solitude, I embraced Leucippe boldly, and would have done more, when we heard a noise, and parted again. It was made by Satyrus, who, keeping watch, had heard someone coming.

xi. My father now made preparations to conclude my marriage at once: he had dreamed that while he was celebrating the nuptial rites, the torches were suddenly extinguished. He there-



fore hastened the purchase of the wedding-clothes and jewels. Among the latter was a necklace, containing a rosy hyacinth and a golden glowing amethyst and three other stones set together so that they resembled an eye. Among the former was a purple robe bordered with gold. Its dye was the genuine Tyrian, such as dyes the robe of Aphrodite herself. (Description of necklace and of robe. Legend of discovery of the purple-fish.) xii. The marriage being fixed for the morrow, my father was sacrificing, when an eagle swooped down and bore off the victim. By reason of this unfavorable omen, the marriage was postponed; and the soothsayers prescribed a midnight sacrifice to Zeus Xenios upon the sea-shore, as the eagle had flown that way.

xiii. Now before the war there lived in Byzantium a young, wealthy and profligate orphan named Callisthenes, who upon hearsay fell in love with Leucippe, though he had never seen her. Her hand being refused him because of his profligacy, he resolved to carry her off. xiv. Then the war broke out, and Callisthenes learned that Leucippe had been sent to us; but his plan was aided by an oracle rendered to the Byzantines: "There is an island whose inhabitants bear the name of a plant; this land makes both a strait and an isthmus with the shore; there Hephaestus rejoices in the possession of blue-eyed Pallas: thither I command you to bear sacrifices to Hercules." This oracle Sostratus himself, who was one of the Byzantine commanders, interpreted as meaning Tyre: for the

Phoenicians derive their name from that of the palm-tree; the city is in fact connected with the mainland by an isthmus, under which the sea nevertheless flows in a strait; and certain sacred olive-trees (Pallas) nearby, are fertilized by the ashes of fires (Hephaestus) burning round them. This interpretation was approved by Chaerephon, Sostratus's colleague, (who added other marvels: a Sicilian spring where fire mingles with the water,—the water not quenching the fire, the fire not heating the water; a river in Spain, which emits musical sounds when the wind, like a plectrum upon a lyre, plays upon its surface; and a lake in Libya, so rich in gold, like the soil of India, that the Libyan maidens by merely plunging into it a pitch-smeared pole—the pitch being hook and bait as it were—fish out the gold.) xv. In obedience to this oracle a sacred embassy came to Tyre; and one of its members was Callisthenes himself. The sacrifice was most sumptuous. Incense of cassia, frankincense and crocus vied with flowers—narcissus, roses and myrtle—to perfume the air, so that there was a gale of sweetness. (Sacrifice and victims described.) xvi–xviii. As my stepmother was unwell, and as Leucippe feigned illness in order that we might have a meeting, Calligone and Leucippe's mother went together to view the sacrifice. Callisthenes consequently supposing Calligone to be Leucippe (for he recognized Leucippe's mother Panthea, the wife of Sostratus) and in fact much taken with the beauty of Calligone herself, pointed her out to a slave, with directions that she be ab-

ducted by pirates during another ceremony to be performed by the maidens upon the sea-shore. The sacred mission performed, he withdrew in his own ship, with the other Byzantine ships, but put in at Sarapta, not far off. There he bought a small boat, which his slave Zeno—himself a sturdy rogue—manned with piratical fishermen of the neighborhood and sailed to an island called Rhodope's Tomb, quite near the city. There they lay in ambush. But Callisthenes was not obliged to await the maiden's ceremony. For the event portended by the eagle took place at the very sacrifice which was intended to avert it. We had all gone to the shore to make our offering to Zeus, Zeno observing us closely. At his signal the boat from Rhodope's Tomb sailed in with ten young fellows aboard; eight others disguised as women, but armed, were among the celebrants. These all together, shouting and drawing their swords, rushed upon us and made off with Calligone in their boat, which sailed away like a bird. Off Sarapta, Callisthenes took her aboard and escaped to the open sea. In our confusion we could do nothing. I breathed freely when I found my marriage so unexpectedly broken off, but couldn't help feeling sorry for Calligone!

xix. Now I continued to court Leucippe, and at length persuaded her to receive me at night in her chamber. Panthea, who accompanied Leucippe to bed, always had the door locked inside and out; but Satyrus had the keys duplicated, and gained over Clio. xx. Conops, a slanderous, gluttonous slave in the house, suspect-



ing our plans, kept watch with his door open, so that it was difficult to escape his observation. Satyrus, wishing to win him, joked with him about his name (Gnat). Conops pretended to return the joke, but in fact showed his ill-nature by telling this fable of the gnat: xxi. "The lion complained that, though Prometheus had created him the most formidable of beasts, he was yet afraid of the cock. Prometheus answered that the lion's own cowardice was to blame; whereat the lion wished for death rather than such disgrace. But then he happened to meet the elephant, whose great ears, he observed, were incessantly flapping. 'Why not give your ears a rest?' asked the lion." 'See that gnat?' replied the elephant. 'If he once gets into my ear, I'm done for.' 'At any rate,' the lion thought, 'I'm at least as much luckier than the elephant, as a cock is mightier than a gnat!' And he decided to live on. Now you see," concluded Conops, "the gnat is not so inconsiderable after all: even the elephant fears him." Satyrus saw the covert meaning. "By all means make the most of your fable," said he, "but let me tell you another: xxii. The boastful gnat said to the lion: 'You think yourself the most valorous of beasts—you that scratch and bite like a woman! Your size? Your beauty?—to be sure, you have a big chest and shoulders, and a bristly mane—but how about the rest of you? As for me, the whole expanse of air is mine; my beauty is that of all the flowery meads, which I put on or off at will when I alight or when I fly. Nor is my strength

to be despised, for I am all a weapon—at once a trumpet and a javelin, at once a bow and an arrow, at once the warrior and his dart. I am there and away in a moment; in an instant I stay and go. I ride all round my victim, and laugh at him as he dances about to find me. But enough of words! Come, let's have it out.' And he stung the lion's lips, he jumped into his eyes; he stung him where the hair was short! The lion snapped and gasped and writhed in vain: the gnat slipped between his very teeth—his empty gnashing teeth! At length, wearied out with fighting shadows, the lion lay down; and the gnat flew off, trumpeting victory. As he circled more and more widely in his triumph, he flew into a spider's web, which he had failed to notice; but the spider didn't fail to notice him! So," ended Satyrus with a laugh, "ware spiders."

xxiii. A few days later, Satyrus asked Conops to supper, and drugged his last cup of wine, so that Conops fell asleep as soon as he reached his room. Then Satyrus called me, and we went together to Leucippe's chamber. Satyrus remained at the door, and Clio admitted me, torn between conflicting hope and fear, joy and pain. At that moment Panthea had a horrible dream: a robber armed with a naked sword threw Leucippe on the ground and disembowelled her. Frightened out of her sleep, Panthea ran to Leucippe's room, which she reached just as I had gotten into bed. When I heard the door open, I leaped out and ran through the door, and Satyrus and I each escaped to his own room.

xxiv. First Panthea fainted; then she boxed Clio's ears; then she reproached Leucippe: "What a wedding is this! Better have been ravished in the war; then your misfortune would have been free from dishonor: as it is, you suffer misfortune and dishonor too. What a fulfilment of my dream! Alas, who did it—some slave?"

xxv. Sure that I had escaped, Leucippe replied: "Your reproaches are undeserved. I know not who that person may have been—whether a god, a demigod, or a burglar; all I know is, I was so frightened I couldn't cry out. But my virginity is intact." Panthea fell down again, groaning. Meanwhile Satyrus and I resolved to get away before day, when Clio under torture would have to confess everything. xxvi–xxvii. Telling the porter we were going to our mistresses, we betook ourselves to Clinias; and while we were in the street trying to rouse him, Clio joined us, determined to escape the torture. Accordingly Clio was taken off by boat in the care of one of Clinias's slaves; but we agreed to stay long enough to persuade Leucippe to escape; if she would not, we too should remain, and commit ourselves to Fortune. So we took a short sleep, and returned home at daybreak. xxviii. Panthea now demanded Clio for the torture, but couldn't find her. Returning therefore to Leucippe, she cried: "Why don't you tell me the trick of this plot? Here's Clio run away!" Leucippe, still further reassured, offered to submit to a test of her virginity. "Yes," said her mother, "and call witnesses to our dishonor!"



And she flung out of the room. xxix. Leucippe was sorrowful, ashamed, and angry, all at once—sorrowful because she had been caught, ashamed at her mother's reproaches, angry because her word had been doubted. (Shame, sorrow, and anger: their causes and effects.) xxx. Hence, when I sent Satyrus to sound her on the question of an elopement, she anticipated him, begging to be taken from her mother's sight. During my father's absence on a journey, we spent two days in preparation. xxxi. At supper on the second day, Satyrus drugged Panthea, drugged Leucippe's new chambermaid (whom he had won over by making feigned love to her), and drugged the porter! (Conops happened to be absent on an errand.) Then Leucippe and I, Satyrus, and two servants, entered a carriage in which Clinias was waiting for us at the door; and drove to Sidon, and on to Berytus, where we found a vessel ready to sail. Without inquiring her destination, we embarked, and then learned that she was bound for Alexandria. xxxii–xxxiii. With much confusion she got under way, and left the harbor. A courteous young fellow-passenger, who made common stock of provisions with us, gave his name as Menelaus, an Egyptian. Clinias and I also told him our names and country. Upon his inquiring our reason for this voyage, we asked him to begin by relating his own. (xxxiv. While hunting, he had accidentally killed his favorite; and he was now returning from banishment for this offense. Clinias wept, remembering Charicles, and upon

Menelaus's inquiry, told him that story) and I told mine. To enliven their sadness, I proposed an amatory discussion,—Leucippe being absent, asleep below. "Clinias is lucky," said I; "always inveighing against women, he now finds in you a companion of similar tastes." (Discussion: boys vs. women (xxxvi—xxxviii).)

### Book III

i—ii. On the third day a gale came up. (Storm vividly described.) iii—iv. Wearied out, the helmsman abandoned the tiller, got ready the boat, and ordering the sailors to embark, himself took the lead (!). They were about to cut loose when the passengers also tried to jump in. The sailors threatened them with knives and axes; the passengers armed themselves with what they could find—broken oars and benches; a novel sea-fight ensued. (Fight described.) The ship soon struck a sunken rock and went to pieces. Those who were drowned at once were happier than those who survived to drown later, for a lingering death by drowning is fearful beyond measure: the eye has death before it continually in a shape vast and overwhelming as the sea itself. Some were dashed against rocks and perished, others were impaled on broken spars like fish; some swam about half-dead. v. Leucippe and I floated upon a fragment of the prow, which some good genius had preserved for us. Menelaus and Satyrus and some other passengers had a bit of mast; and Clinias rode the waves upon a spar, calling "Hold fast, Clitophon!"

Just then a wave washed over him, and we cried out; but rolling towards us, by good luck it passed, and we again caught sight of Clinias and the spar on the crest of the sea. I prayed to Poseidon to save us or give us a speedy death; and if death, then death together and a common tomb—even in one fish. Soon the wind abated and the waves subsided. Menelaus and his companions were cast upon a part of the Egyptian coast at that time the haunt of brigands. Leucippe and I at evening came by chance to Pelusium, where landing we thanked the gods and bewailed Clinias and Satyrus, believing them to have perished. vi. (Description of the statue of Zeus Casius.) Having made our prayers, and asked tidings of Clinias and Satyrus,—for the god was held to be prophetic,—we saw at the rear of the temple two paintings by Evanthes, (one of Andromeda, the other of Prometheus. Their having so much in common had probably led the painter to treat them together: both were prisoners upon rocks; both had a beast for executioner—one marine, the other aërial; both had an Argive deliverer—Perseus and Hercules respectively—the one aiming at the bird of Zeus, the other at the monster of Poseidon. vii. Andromeda lay in a hollow of the rock as large as her body,—a natural hollow, as its surface showed. ‘A statue’—you would have said, if you looked at her beauty, but if at the chains and the monster—‘A tomb.’ Beauty and fear were mingled in her countenance, beauty blooming in her eyes, fear



paling her cheeks; yet were her cheeks not so pale but that they were tinged with color, nor her eyes so lovely but that they languished like fading violets. Thus the painter had adorned her with beautiful fear. Her arms were chained; her wrists and fingers hanging like clusters of the vine; arms white, fingers bloodless; attire bridal, white, of fine silken texture. The monster: only his head was above water, the jaws open to his shoulders; but his body was visible in outline beneath—with scales, spines, and tail. Perseus was descending from the sky, his mantle about his shoulders, his body naked; winged sandals on his feet, and on his head a cap like Hades's. His left hand grasped as a shield the Gorgon's head with its glaring eyes and bristling snakes, his right of weapon half sword half sickle—a straight blade in common, then a division into two—one proceeding to the point, the other bent round into a hook. viii. Prometheus was shown chained to the rock; against his thigh the bird, braced upon the points of his talons and with his beak searching the wound for his victim's liver, which appeared in the opening; Prometheus's one thigh was contracted in pain, the other stretched tense to the very toes; his face convulsed, eyebrows contracted, lips drawn, teeth visible: you could almost pity the picture. Hercules stood armed with a bow, and the shaft already on it. The left hand held the bow; the right drew the string to his breast—all in a moment. Prometheus was divided between hope and fear; with hope he looked toward his

deliverer, and with fear back to his wounded side.)

ix. From Pelusium we were proceeding on a hired vessel up the Nile to Alexandria, when, opposite a town, we heard a shout—"The Herdsmen!" and saw the bank thronged with savage-looking men of black complexion, like mongrel Ethiopians. Four of them boarded us, carried away everything on the boat including our money, took us ashore bound, and left us in a hut, with guards who were to take us next day to their chief. x. That night, I silently soliloquized upon the calamities I had brought upon Leucippe: "Our case would be sorry enough had we fallen into the hands of Greeks; but there at least our supplications would be understood. Here, charm I like a Siren, I plead to deaf ears; I am reduced to gestures; I must perform my lamentations in pantomimic dance. But faithful tender Leucippe—what preparations are these for thy wedding! Thy bridal chamber a prison, the earth thy bed, thy necklace a noose, thy bridesman a thief, tears for thy nuptial hymn. O sea, in sparing us thou hast destroyed us." xi. Thus I lamented, tearlessly; (for though tears flow freely enough in ordinary griefs and relieve the swelling of the heart, excessive sorrow turns them back upon their fount, so that, returning, they exasperate the wound of the soul.) Leucippe too being silent, I asked her why she did not speak to me. "The death of my soul," she answered, "has been anticipated by the death of my voice." xii. At daybreak, a shag-haired

villain on a shaggy horse rode up bareback, with orders to bring away for sacrifice any maiden he might find. Leucippe, who clung shrieking to me, they dragged away. Me they beat, and left with the other prisoners to follow more slowly. xiii. A little way from the village we were overtaken by a body of about fifty soldiers. The brigands resisted, pelting them with rough stony clods of earth, which the heavy-armed troops received on their long shields with impunity. Then, when their assailants were tired, they opened their ranks, and allowed the light armed troops to issue forth. These, supported by the heavy troops, attacked the pirates with swords and spears. At length the majority of the pirates were cut to pieces by a body of cavalry which came up; and we prisoners were taken by the soldiers and sent to the rear. xiv. That evening the commander (Charmides: named IV. ii) heard our story, and promised to arm us all, as he meant to attack the pirates' stronghold. At my request he gave me a horse too, which I put through its military paces, to his admiration. Then he made me his guest, listened more particularly to my troubles, and expressed his sympathy by tears. (Sympathy often leads to friendship.) He also gave me an Egyptian servant. xv. Next morning we perceived the pirates before us, on the far side of a trench, which it was our object to fill up. Near it was an extemporized altar of clay, and a coffin. Soon two men, whom I could not make out because of their armor, led Leucippe, whom I saw plainly,



to the altar, a priest all the while chanting, as appeared from the position of his mouth and the distortion of his face. Then all the rest retired from the altar; and one of the two bound Leucippe on the ground to four pegs, like an image of Marsyas, and with a sword disembowelled her. They roasted the entrails upon the altar, and distributed them among the pirates, who ate them. Amid the shout of horror that rose from our army, I was thunderstruck into silence. Niobe's fabled metamorphosis may have been some such paralysis by grief. The two men placed the body in a coffin, covered it with a lid, and, after throwing down the altar, hurried back to their companions without looking behind them, as the priest had commanded.

xvi. By evening we had filled and crossed the trench, and I went to the coffin prepared to stab myself. "Leucippe," I cried, "thy death is lamentable not only because violent and in a strange land, but because thou hast been sacrificed to purify the most impure; because thou didst look upon thine own anatomy; because thy body and thy bowels have received an accursed sepulchre,—the one here, the other in such wise that their burial has become the nourishment of robbers. And this the gods saw unmoved, and accepted such an offering! But now receive from me thy fitting libation." xvii. About to cut my throat, I saw two men running up, and paused, thinking that they were pirates and would kill me. They were Menelaus and Satyrus! Still I could not rejoice in their safety, and I

resisted their attempt to take my sword. "If you deprive me of this sword, wherewith I would end my sorrows in death, the inward sword of my grief will inflict deathless sorrows upon me. Let me die: Leucippe dead, I will not live." "Leucippe lives!" said Menelaus, and, tapping upon the coffin, he summoned her to testify to his veracity. Leucippe actually rose, disembowelled as she was, and rushed to my embrace. xviii. "Soon," Menelaus replied to my astonished questions, "you shall see her intact; but cover your face:—I'm going to invoke Hecate." I did so; whereupon he muttered words of marvel; at the same time removing certain contrivances from Leucippe's body. Then, "Uncover," said he, which I did fearfully, for I thought to see Hecate. But I saw only Leucippe, unharmed! Menelaus now began to satisfy my curiosity: xix. "I am, you remember, an Egyptian: in fact, I own property about this very village, and know the people there. After I had been cast ashore and taken to the pirate chief, some of the pirates recognized me, struck off my chains, and begged me to join them. I consented, and claimed Satyrus too as my slave. He, they said, would be granted me if I first gave proof of courage in their cause. They had just received an oracle bidding them offer up a maiden, taste her liver, put her body in a coffin, and retire so that the enemy might take the site of the sacrifice." xx-xxii. Satyrus now took up the story. "The day before the sacrifice, the pirates took a ship on which was travelling a theatrical reciter

of Homer. When the crew had been killed and the ship sunk, there floated ashore to us a chest, unperceived by the pirates. Among its contents was a stage-sword, whose blade could be pushed almost wholly into the hollow hilt. It had doubtless been used to inflict mimic wounds. I at once proposed to Menelaus to procure a sheepskin bag, stuff it with guts and blood, and conceal it under Leucippe's dress, which, according to the oracle, was not to be removed for the sacrifice. Menelaus, in proof of his courage and devotion, as demanded by the pirates, was to perform the supposed slaughter—the blade to protrude at first only far enough to rip up the bag, but afterwards, for the benefit of the spectators, to appear at its full length, covered with blood, as if it had actually pierced Leucippe's body. We could then lay her safely in the coffin, as no one was to approach. Menelaus agreed to take the risk for friendship's sake, especially as we learned, both from Leucippe and from the pirates, that you, Clitophon, still lived. Fortune co-operated with us; for when Menelaus approached the pirate chief to volunteer, the chief imposed the task upon him—the pirates' law requiring newcomers to be the first to make sacrifice—and even entrusted the victim to our care. All was carried out as we had planned, and as you saw."

xxiii. I next inquired what had become of Clinias. "I don't know," said Menelaus; "when I last saw him, he was clinging to the spar." In the midst of my joy I lamented: my happiness could not be entire, as long as he whom I loved



next only after Leucippe, was lost; and I bewailed his fate,—not only dead but unburied. Then we returned to my tent, where we passed the night. Our adventures soon became known. xxiv. At dawn I introduced Menelaus to Charmides, who received him well, and who, inquiring the strength of the enemy, learned that there were about ten thousand. These, he said, could easily be beaten by his own five thousand, who besides, were to be reinforced by two thousand more from the Delta and from Heliopolis. At that moment messengers arrived to say that the reinforcements from the Delta would delay their start five days, because the Sacred Bird, bearing its father's sepulchre, had appeared among the troops just as they were on the point of marching. (xxv. This sacred bird, they told me, was the Ethiopian Phoenix. He is of the size of a peacock, but of yet more gorgeous plumage. He owes allegiance to the sun, as a mark of whose dominion he wears upon his head a radiant circle. When after many years he dies, his son hollows out a mass of myrrh for the sepulchre,—wherein he bears the body to Egypt, attended by many other birds as a guard of honor. Upon arriving at the City of the Sun—Heliopolis—he waits for the priest to appear, who bears from the sanctuary a book containing a picture of the Phoenix, and thereby identifies the corpse, which the young Phoenix aids him by exhibiting, and so argues for its burial: *ἔστιν ἐπιτάφιος σοφιστής*. There the priests bury it. Thus the bird during life is by

its breeding an Ethiopian, but after death, by its burial, an Egyptian.)

#### Book IV

i. Charmides awaited the reinforcements at the village we had left; and there he assigned us a house. Upon my urging Leucippe to profit by the opportunity Fortune now afforded us, she related a dream she had had: The night before, when she fully expected to be sacrificed, Artemis had appeared to her, saying, "You shall be saved; but remain a maid till I lead thee to the altar; and none but Clitophon shall be thy husband." Disappointed as I was, I was yet cheered by this dream, especially as I also recalled a dream I had had at the same time: I saw Aphrodite's temple, and her statue within; but when I would have entered, the gates closed, and the goddess said, "Thou mayest not enter as yet, but wait a little, and thou shalt not only enter, but be my priest."

ii. Charmides, the general, now had an opportunity to see Leucippe, for we went at his invitation to see a hippopotamus that had been captured. (Hippopotamus described.) iii. Charmides at once became enamored of Leucippe, (and to keep her there gave us a long account of the nature and food of the animal, and of the mode of his capture. iv-v. He furthermore told us some curious things about the elephant.)

vi. Charmides now sent for Menelaus, and, offering him money, requested his offices as mediator with Leucippe. Menelaus refused the

money, but promised to do what he could, and at once came and told me all. As we could not escape, and dared not antagonize Charmides, we resolved to deceive him. vii. Accordingly, Menelaus reported to Charmides that Leucippe after much difficulty had consented, but had begged a respite till she should reach Alexandria, as all here was too public. Charmides answered: "Make Fortune guarantee my safety till then, and I will wait. As it is, I know not whether I shall survive my battle with the pirates. And while I prepare for that outward battle, love wounds and burns me within. Let me have the physician that can heal these wounds. Let me at least kiss Leucippe."

viii. Upon hearing this from Menelaus, I declared I would sooner die than permit another to enjoy Leucippe's kisses. (The Praise of the Kiss.) ix. While we took counsel, some one ran in to say that Leucippe had suddenly fallen in a fit. Running to where she lay on the ground, Menelaus and I tried to raise her; but she struck me in the face, and kicked him, and struggled unseemly. Charmides, who came up, thought the scene preconcerted, and looked suspiciously at Menelaus, but was soon convinced that the malady was genuine. We were compelled to bind Leucippe. Then I broke out: "Unbind her! those tender hands cannot endure bonds. My embrace shall be her chain—what though her madness rage against me? Why should I live when she knows me not? Was it for this that Fortune saved us from our troubles



at home, from a raging sea, from pirates—only that we might fall victims to madness? And when thou shalt have recovered, mayhap she reserves some still worse affliction: so that we must fear even the good luck of thy recovery. But provided thou dost indeed recover, let Fortune sport as she will.” x. Menelaus opined that this sickness was nothing extraordinary, but normally incident to youth, when the blood, boiling through the veins, overflows the brain and drowns the spirit of reason. He readily procured from Charmides the services of the army physician. A pill dissolved in oil and rubbed on Leucippe’s head according to the doctor’s orders, put her to sleep—a first step in the cure. I sat by her awake all night, and lamented: “Even in sleep thou are enchained. Are thy dreams rational, or are they frenzied like thy waking thoughts?” She awoke still delirious.

xi. Letters now came from the Satrap of Egypt, which must have ordered an immediate attack upon the robbers; for Charmides got his forces under arms, and next day moved them against the enemy. (The Nile, which down to a place called Cercasorus is one stream, there divides into three. The middle one flows on as before, and forms the Delta, but all are again divided and subdivided. They are navigable and potable throughout, and fertilize the land. xii. In fact, the Nile is everything to the Egyptians,—sea and land, swamp and river. There you see—strange spectacle—the ship and the plow, etc., together; where you

have sailed, you sow, and anon your field has become a sea. The river punctually rises upon the expected day. Then land and water struggle, and neither gains the victory, for they are co-extensive. In the region inhabited by the robbers, the Nile when it retires leaves many ponds, shallow and muddy, on which the robbers sail, in light boats containing one person: any other kind would run aground at once. When water fails, these are taken on the sailor's back and carried to a deeper channel. Among the swamps, the uninhabited islands are covered with papyrus growing close, behind which, as behind a rampart, the pirates hold their councils and plan their ambushes. In the inhabited islands are rude huts, like a city walled in by the marsh.) The robbers had retired to the island of Nicochis, for this place, though connected with the land by a causeway, was otherwise wholly surrounded by the lagoons. xiii. The robbers resorted to stratagem. They sent out their old men bearing palm-branches, ostensibly as a badge of supplication, but really to conceal a column of spearmen behind them. If Charmides accepted their offer, there would be no fighting; if not, they were to lure him out on the causeway, and there the spearmen were to attack. So it turned out: Charmides refusing ransom, the old men begged that they might be put to death in their own homes, and that their city might be their tomb. Accordingly Charmides advanced along the causeway. xiv. Now the robbers had also stationed lookouts at the irrigation canals,

who, if they saw Charmides' force advance, were to cut the bank and let out the Nile upon him. At one moment, then, the old men fell back, the unmasked spearmen charged, and the waters rolled over the causeway. The troopers, completely surprised, were thrown into ruinous confusion, and cut down, drowned, or routed. (Details.) Charmides himself was killed at the first attack. Here was a land-battle on water, and a wreck on land. The pirates were unduly elated at their success, which they attributed not to fraud but to valor; for these Egyptians know only extremes—of abject fear and overweening insolence.

xv. After ten days of madness, Leucippe one night exclaimed in her sleep: "Gorgias, 'tis thou hast made me mad." I reported these words to Menelaus, wondering whether there were a Gorgias in the place. As we went out, a young man accosted me, saying, "I am come to save you and your wife." "Are you Gorgias?" "No, I am Chaereas. Gorgias was an Egyptian soldier, killed in the battle with the robbers. Having fallen in love with Leucippe, he induced your servant to administer to her a philter, which proved too strong and produced madness. From Gorgias's servant, whom Fortune seems to have saved for your special behoof, I learned these facts. He knows the antidote as well, and will cure Leucippe for four pieces of gold." "Bring me the man," said I. Then I mauled my Egyptian till he confessed, and put him in prison.

xvi. Chaereas returned with Gorgias's servant,



who, to allay my fears, compounded his drug in my presence, and himself drank off half the mixture. "Now," he said, "if you give the remainder to Leucippe, she will sleep well to-night, and awake cured." Then he went away to sleep off the effects of what he had taken. xvii. With a prayer, I administered the potion to Leucippe, who fell asleep; and I addressed her thus: "Shalt thou indeed recover? Speak to me again prophetically in thy sleep; for thy inspired utterance concerning Gorgias was true. So that thy sleep, wherein thou dreamest wisdom, is happier than thy frenzied waking hours." At dawn she awoke, calling "Clitophon!" I sprang to her side, and found her fully recovered, without the least remembrance of her malady. I unbound her, told her what had happened, and reassured her in her confusion thereat. Gladly then I paid Gorgias's servant. Our money was safe, as Satyrus, who had it, had not been despoiled by the robbers, any more than had Menelaus. xviii. Meanwhile, new troops had extirpated the robbers and razed their city; and the Nile now being safe we embarked once more for Alexandria, taking our new friend Chaereas along. (A fisherman from Pharos, he had served on the fleet against the robbers, and was now discharged.) The river, which because of their depredations had been deserted, was again crowded; and a pleasant thing it was to hear the songs of the sailors and the mirth of the passengers, and to see so many craft passing up and down: the river itself was celebrating, as it were.

(Description of the Nile; the taste of the water; the Egyptian mode of drinking it; the crocodile a strange beast.)

### Book V

i. In three days we arrived at Alexandria. (I admired the long colonnades from the Gate of the Sun to the Gate of the Moon; and the great open place half-way between, with its many streets and its moving crowds—*ἐνδημος ἀποδημία*. The quarter called after Alexander is a second city, with more streets and more colonnades. The size and the population vied with each other: How could any population fill so vast a city? How could any city hold so vast a population? ii. It happened to be the feast of Serapis, the Zeus of the Egyptians; and after sunset the illumination brought on another day, the beauty of the city now rivalling that of the heavens. We saw also Zeus Milichius and the temple of Zeus Uranius, and prayed him to end our troubles. But Fortune still reserved other trials for us.) iii. Chaereas had for some time loved Leucippe; and his motive for telling me about Gorgias's philtre was only that he might preserve her for himself, and become intimate with us. He now plotted to get possession of her. As a seafaring man he easily gathered a band of pirates, to whom he gave his instructions; and then he invited us to celebrate his birthday at Pharos. When we left the house, a hawk pursuing a swallow brushed Leucippe's head with his wing. Startled by this evil omen, I prayed to Zeus for a clearer sign: when, turning round,

I found myself before a picture-shop in which hung a painting of like significance. It represented Philomela revealing her wrongs to Procne by means of the tapestry. A slave held up the cloth, to the figures on which Philomela pointed: herself struggling dishevelled in the arms of Tereus, her right hand gouging out his eyes, her left drawing her dress over her half-naked breast. Procne gave sign of her understanding and her rage. Elsewhere appeared the two sisters showing to Tereus the remnants of his supper—the head and hands of his child. They laugh and are afraid—both at once; Tereus leaps up from his couch, drawing his sword against them; his leg strikes and overturns the table, which is on the very point of falling. iv. Upon Menelaus's advice we put off the excursion to Pharos because of these portents, and notified Chaereas, who, much vexed, said he should come again the next day. (v. At Leucippe's request, I related the story of Philomela, Procne, and Tereus.)

vi. We had avoided the trap for only a day. Next morning Chaereas appeared, and as we were ashamed to refuse him again, we sailed to Pharos. Menelaus remained at home, saying he did not feel well. Chaereas showed us the lighthouse with its marvellous foundation of rock, a cloud-capped mountain in the midst of the sea; and the tower on whose summit the light is displayed—a second pilot for ships. Then he took us to a house on the shore, at the very end of the island. vii. At evening he made a pretext to



leave us. Soon we heard a great shouting at the door, and a number of burly fellows burst into the room and dragged Leucippe away. Armed though they were, I rushed into the midst of them; but fell wounded in the thigh. They put Leucippe into a boat, and fled. By this time, the noise had brought thither the commandant of the island, whom I had known in the army, and whom I now besought to pursue the pirates. He had me carried aboard one of the numerous ships waiting in the port, and at once gave chase. When the pirates saw us drawing near, they exhibited the maiden on deck with her hands tied behind her back, and one of them, crying out "Here, take your prize!" cut off her head and threw the trunk overboard. As my companions restrained me from throwing myself after it, I begged them to recover the body for me, which two sailors accordingly did. The consequent delay enabled the pirates to gain distance, and by the time we were near them again, they had found allies in an approaching shipload of purple-fishers, pirates like themselves. Seeing the odds against him, our commandant retired; and I broke forth: "Now indeed, Leucippe, hast thou died a double death, divided as thou art between sea and land. And the division is unfair; for though I seem to possess the greater portion of thee, yet the sea, in possessing its little—thy head—possesses thee all. But since Fortune denies me thy head, I will kiss thy neck."

viii. After interring the body, I returned to Alexandria, unwillingly had my wound dressed,

and, urged by Menelaus, decided to endure life. But at the end of six months my grief had somewhat abated. For time medicines grief, and the sun is a cheerful thing, and even violent sorrow yields to the distractions of life day by day. I was walking the public square, when who should come up behind me but Clinias! After my surprise and my joy at seeing him were somewhat calmed, he told me his story: ix. "The yard to which I clung was caught up by a tremendous wave and dashed against a sunken rock. I was hurled off as from a sling. I swam the rest of the day, growing more and more exhausted, till, abandoning myself to Fortune, I at last perceived a ship steering my way. I was rescued and treated well. I knew some of the people aboard, who were bound for Sidon. x. There, after two days, we arrived, and I begged my acquaintances not to mention that they had saved me from shipwreck, as I did not wish it known in Tyre that I had gone off with you. I had been away only five days; and as I had told my servants to say that I had gone to the country for ten days, there was no need of explanations upon my return. Your father did not even return from his journey (II. xxx) till two days after my arrival. Then he found a letter from Leucippe's father, which had come only a day after we had gone, offering you her hand! At this, and at your flight, he was greatly chagrined, both because you had lost the prize and because Fortune had made you miss it by so little: for if the letter had come earlier, you would not have run

away. But he thought it better to write nothing to Sostratus about your flight, and to persuade Panthea also to keep the secret; for he felt sure you would be found, and would return as soon as you heard the news. He made every effort to find you, and only a few days ago Diophantus of Tyre returning from Egypt reported that he had seen you there. I at once took ship hither. You had better decide upon some plan; your father is sure to be here soon."

xi. Hereupon I railed at Fortune: "Now's the time indeed for Sostratus to grant me Leucippe! Doubtless he computed it so exactly in order not to interfere with our flight! My happiness comes just a day too late. After death, a bridal; after the dirge, the nuptial hymn. And what bride does Fortune give me? One of whom she grants me not even the corpse entire." I decided neither to return, nor to await my father. How could I face him, after running away so shamefully, and after corrupting the charge he had received in trust from his brother? Just as I had resolved, then, to run away once more, Menelaus and Satyrus came up. "Here's exactly the chance:" said Satyrus, "Melitta, a beautiful rich young widow of Ephesus, who has lost her husband at sea, is madly in love with Clitophon; but he'll none of her. I suppose he thinks Leucippe will come to life again. Melitta wants him—I'll not say for a husband, but for a master."

xii. "Beauty, and riches, and love," said Menelaus, "are not to be despised. I advise you to accept her offer." I reluctantly agreed, stipu-



lating however that the consummation should not take place till our arrival at Ephesus, as I had sworn to be continent in the city where I had lost Leucippe. Satyrus took the news to Melitta, who almost fainted with joy. At her invitation I went to dine with her that evening. xiii. She covered me with kisses, which I received not without pleasure; for she was white as milk, with golden hair and rosy cheeks, and a glance that sparkled with love. The feast was abundant, but she ate nothing, feeding her eyes upon me. (Love fills the soul, leaving no room even for food. The images of the beloved, the visual effluvia or simulacra from him, enter the heart through the eyes, and leave their imprint upon the mirror of the soul.) xiv. When night came, I declined her invitation to remain, but agreed to meet her next day at the temple of Isis. There, in the presence of Clinias and Menelaus, we plighted our troth before the divinity. Melitta took me for her husband and put me in possession of all her property; I swore to love her sincerely: both the promises to take effect upon our arrival at Ephesus. At our nuptial feast, when the guests wished us joy, Melitta spoke an earnest word in jest: "I have heard," she said to me *sotto voce*, "of a cenotaph, but never of a cenogam!"

xv. Next day we parted from Menelaus, but Clinias embarked with us, intending to return to Tyre after seeing me well settled at Ephesus. At night, Melitta again asked me to consummate our marriage: we had left, she urged, the terri-

tory sacred to Leucippe. xvi. "No," said I, "she died upon the ocean, and we are actually sailing over her tomb! Perchance her spirit still wanders about us. First we must land in another country. Would you wed upon the unstable sea? and have a bridal bed without a firm foundation?" "You argue sophistically," she answered, "to lovers every place is a bridal chamber—and the sea especially, for Aphrodite is daughter of the sea. And behold about you the symbols of happy marriage: the sail-yard crossing the mast like a yoke; the intertwining ropes; the rudder an emblem of the guidance of Fortune; the swelling pregnant sail. The wind sings Hymen; the choir of Nereids, with Poseidon himself, who wedded Amphitrite on the sea, shall make our bridal pomp!" "Nay," said I, "the sea itself has its laws, and among them this—that ships be kept pure of the pleasures of Aphrodite—either because ships are sacred, or because men should not wanton in the presence of peril." Thus I soothed and persuaded her, and the rest of the night we slept.

xvii. After a voyage of five days we landed at Ephesus. Melitta ordered dinner at her magnificent house in town, and meanwhile we drove out to her country-place and walked in the garden. Suddenly a woman, miserably clad and heavily fettered, her head shaven, her hand holding a mattock, fell at our knees. "Have pity," she cried, "upon one who was free by birth, but is now by Fortune a slave." Melitta bade her rise and tell her story: She was a Thessalian, Lacaena

by name; had been sold by pirates to Sosthenes, Melitta's bailiff, for two thousand drachmas; these she now hoped to procure to purchase her freedom. Meanwhile she begged to be kept safe from Sosthenes, who because she would not yield to him had loaded her with chains and with the stripes she showed us on her back. I was deeply moved, for she seemed to have something of Leucippe about her. Melitta delivered her from her chains, promised to send her home free of ransom, and sent for Sosthenes and deprived him of his office. Then, having committed Lacaena to the maids to be washed, properly clad, and taken to the city, Melitta returned with me.

xviii. While we sat at dinner, Satyrus motioned to me to go out. I made an excuse and did so; whereupon he handed me a letter which I at once saw was in Leucippe's writing! "Master," it read "(so I must call thee since thou art my mistress's husband), for thee I have left my mother, and become a wanderer; suffered captivity among robbers, and become an expiatory offering; suffered again the pains of death; been sold, fettered, and scourged; been made to bear a mattock and hoe the ground—and all this that I might become to another man what thou art to another woman. Heaven forbid! I have endured to the end; but thou, unharmed, unscourged, hast yielded. See to it then that thy wife keep her word to me: do thou become security for my ransom, and say that I will send it; but even shouldst thou be obliged to pay it, consider it then as the price of what I have borne



for thy sake. Adieu, be happy. I who write this am still a maid." xix. This I read with conflicting emotions: I burned, I paled, I wondered, I doubted, I rejoiced, I grieved. Satyrus told me that the woman I had seen in the country was indeed Leucippe, rendered unrecognizable by the cutting of her hair. xx. "She will tell you," said he, "whose corpse it was that you buried, and how she herself was saved. But now answer her letter and soothe her irritation. I have already told her it was against your will that you married Melitta." "Told her I married Melitta! You've spoiled all." "Nonsense! the whole town knows you're married to her." "I swear that I am not her husband." "Tush, man, you sleep with her!" "I know it's incredible, but I am innocent of her." I then composed my answer to Leucippe: "I am unhappy in my happiness, that, having thee near, I see thee only as afar. Wait till the truth is known, and you will find that I too have remained a clean maid, if there be maidenhood in men. Meanwhile, judge me not too hardly." xxi. Giving Satyrus the letter, I returned to dinner, but could eat nothing, and indeed judged it best to feign positive illness; for I knew that Melitta would urge me to consummate our marriage that night, but felt, now I had recovered Leucippe, that I could not even look at another woman. When I left the table, Melitta followed me, pleading most piteously, and justly too, that as we had now arrived, the fulfilment of my promise was due. I swore that I was ill; and with fresh promises at last contrived to pacify her.

xxii. Next day, after ascertaining that Leucippe had been well cared for, Melitta sent for her. "I hear," she said, "that you Thessalians are adepts in love-magic. Here, now, is your chance to return some of my kindness to you. That young man you saw with me"—"Your husband?" asked Leucippe, maliciously. "Husband!" exclaimed Melitta. "Husband indeed! why, he's continually calling upon some dead woman—Leucippe I think her name is—whom he prefers to me. Now help me win this disdainful youth: give me a philtre." Leucippe heard with joy this account of my fidelity; and believing it would be of no use to deny her magic skill, promised to gather the necessary herbs. Melitta was calmed by hope.

xxiii. That night we had just sat down to dinner when there arose a great noise and tumult, and one of the servants rushed in breathless, exclaiming, "Thersander's alive; and here he is!" (Thersander was Melitta's husband, who, according to certain of his servants that had been saved from the wreck, was drowned.) In a moment he was in the room. He had heard about me of course, and had hurried to surprise me. Rudely repulsing his wife, who ran to embrace him, he turned to me, crying "There's the paramour!", seized me by the hair, dashed me to the floor, and beat me unmercifully. I could have defended myself, but as I suspected who he was, I feared to do so. At length, when he was weary of beating and I of philosophizing (!), I asked: "Who are you? and why do you maltreat me?" My

words seemed still further to enrage him. He began buffeting me again, and calling for chains and handcuffs, had me fettered and locked up. xxiv. In the struggle I let fall Leucippe's letter, and Melitta picked it up. At first she thought it was one of her own letters to me; then she saw the name Leucippe, but still did not realize the truth, as she had so often heard that Leucippe was dead; finally understanding the actual state of affairs, she was torn by shame, anger, jealousy, and love;—shame towards her husband, anger towards the letter, love which mollified her anger, and jealousy which intensified her love. Love remained the victor. xxv. When evening came, and Thersander was gone out to see a friend, Melitta won over my guard, and placing two of her own servants at the door, entered my prison. She threw herself down beside me on the floor, and began: "Miserable that I am, ever to have beheld you! Hated, I love him who hates me; tortured, I pity my torturer. Oh detestable pair—you and she—: the one laughs me to scorn; the other, forsooth, has gone to make me a philtre!" At this she threw Leucippe's letter on the floor, and I shuddered and cast down my eyes. "Alas!" she went on, "'tis for you I have lost my husband; and yet you I can never possess, nor henceforward even see. He accuses me of adultery—an adultery fruitless and joyless, whereof I have gathered only the disgrace. Other wives at least receive enjoyment as the price of their infamy; I get infamy alone. Inhuman man, can nothing move you? Oh, the shame of



it—you have held me in your arms, me, young, beautiful, and sick with love for you—and you have left me as another woman might leave me! May the god of love answer your prayers as you have answered mine!” and she wept. xxvi. I still remained silent, with downcast eyes; and she resumed: “What I have said was said by my anger and my grief; but oh, my love speaks now! Have pity on me. I yield up the prospect of a married life with you; give me but one embrace. Quench my fire. If I transgress modesty, I do not blush to unveil love’s mysteries to a lover—himself an initiate. Now keep your promise: remember Isis and your oaths. Alas—against me even the dead come to life. O sea, thou didst bear me safe, but only to destroy me in resuscitating Thersander and Leucippe. Ah, Clitophon, to think that you were struck in my very presence, and I could do naught to save you! But come, be mine now, for the first and last time. ’Tis my love for you that has restored Leucippe to you. Reject not the treasure of my love, the gift of Fortune. Consider,—Eros himself speaks to you through my lips. Soon shall you be delivered from these chains, and I will find a place for you with my foster-brother, let Thersander do what we will. Leucippe is away till morning, gathering herbs; Thersander, too, is out: let us take our opportunity.” xxvii. Won over at last by this pleading—for Love is a mighty master of eloquence—I yielded. Melitta unbound me, and I,—considering that I should soon part from her, that I had recovered Leu-

cippe (so that this would be no consummation of a marriage, but only the relief of a love-sick soul), and that Eros himself would be angry if I resisted further,—returned her embraces to the full.

### Book VI

i-ii. Melitta now arranged my escape. I was to be conducted to Clinias, whither Leucippe also would be sent. I gave Melitta my clothes, and she gave me hers, which she said became me very well (“I looked like Achilles in the picture”)—and she begged me to keep them for remembrance, as she should keep mine. With a female slave I passed the door-keeper, and found at the outer door of the house the guide provided for me. Upon the slave-girl’s return, Melitta called the door-keeper, who was astonished to behold her whom he thought he had just let out. She explained that she had arranged the stratagem to give him plausible ground for saying that he had not connived at my escape; further, she gave him money and sent him away till matters should be arranged with Thersander.

iii. As usual, Fortune began a new play with me. Whom should she send to meet me but Thersander, returning from his friend’s—a worse danger indeed than the crowds of drunken revelers I had feared—celebrants of the festival of Artemis. Sosthenes the deposed bailiff had upon his master’s return not only resumed his office, but plotted revenge upon Melitta. He had told Thersander of her relations with me (—in fact he was the informer—); then, to alienate Ther-

sander wholly from Melitta, he offered him Leucippe, whom, he said, he had reserved for him. "He had heard that Thersander was alive, had believed it because he wished it so, but had said nothing in order to make sure of entrapping Melitta and her paramour. As for the girl, Melitta meant to liberate her, but Fortune had kept her for Thersander: she was then in the country, and could be locked up against his coming." iv. Thersander told him to lose no time; and Sosthenes, going at once to the country and finding Leucippe at the hut where she was to pass the night, covered her mouth with his hand, and carried her off to a lonely house. To reassure her, he told her his master was to be her lover, and asked that in her luck she should not forget *him!* She was silent. Hurrying back, Sosthenes found Thersander just returning home, but so inflamed him by a description of Leucippe that he decided to go to her at once. v. They were on their way when they met me. Disguised though I was, Sosthenes recognized me; my guide, who saw them first, ran off without warning; Thersander seized and began to abuse me; a crowd gathered; and I was taken to prison and charged with adultery. Nothing of all this gave me much concern, for my marriage with Melitta had been public; but I augured evil for Leucippe.

vi. Thersander found her lying on the ground with dejected countenance, upon which grief and fear were plainly depicted. (Indeed, the mind is not invisible at all, but is mirrored in the countenance.) When she heard the door open, she



raised her eyes a moment, and Thersander saw them by a little light that burned in the cottage. Enamored instantly, he cried: "Why pour out the beauty of your eyes upon the ground? Rather pour it into mine." vii. Leucippe burst into tears, and looked all the lovelier. (Tears intensify the expression of the eye: if ugly, they render it uglier; if beautiful, then the dark iris in the midst of the white ring becomes like the welling breast of a fountain overflowing; under the moisture, the white becomes richer and the dark becomes empurpled, like narcissus and violet; and the tears smile.) Such were Leucippe's tears, which might well have turned into a new kind of amber. Thersander also wept. (A woman's tears naturally draw sympathetic tears from a man—the more, the more abundant: add that she is beautiful and he her lover, and her weeping becomes irresistible. Her beauty moves from her eyes to his, drawing with it a fount of tears: the beauty he eagerly drinks into his soul; but the tears he is careful to keep in his eyes. He will not dry them, or even move his eyelids, lest the tears vanish ere she see them; for they bear witness to his love.) His tears, then, were due partly to genuine human feeling; partly to his wish to make a good show. At any rate, he took his departure for the time, promising soon to dry her tears.

viii. Meanwhile Melitta having sent for Leucippe learned that she could not be found; and, further, that I had been committed to prison. Though she knew nothing certainly, she sus-

pected Sosthenes; and as she was determined to find out what she could from Thersander, she thought out a plan wherein truth and subtlety were mingled. ix. Accordingly, when Thersander came in, bawling out that as she had set her paramour free, she had better go and see him again in prison, she answered coolly that there was no such thing as a paramour in the case: the young man was neither her husband nor her lover. He was of an excellent Tyrian family; hearing of his shipwreck she had taken him in out of pure pity, thinking of Thersander's shipwreck and of the chance that some kind woman might take *him* in. Indeed when she at last believed Thersander dead, she had helped many who had been cast away, and had buried many bodies recovered from the sea—all for *his* sake! Clitophon was merely the last of a large number of eleemosynaries. “As for my relations with him,” she concluded, “he was deploring a wife whom he thought dead,—when news came that she had been bought by Sosthenes; and such was the fact. It was for this reason that Clitophon came with me to Ephesus. You may, if you like, verify my statements by means of Sosthenes and the woman; and from the truth of these infer the truth of all.” x. In all this, she pretended not to know of Leucippe's disappearance. That knowledge she was treasuring up in case Thersander should investigate: then the servants who had gone out with Leucippe would bear witness that Melitta had done all she could to find and keep safe the wife of Clitophon, but

that Leucippe had disappeared. Having acted her part convincingly so far, she added: "Rumor, to be sure, has been busy about my relations with Clitophon: but then, rumor had it that you were dead! Who can trust rumor? (Tirade: Rumor and Calumny—kindred evils! Rumor is the daughter of Calumny, etc., etc.) It is these two that have been my foes,—these two that have stopped your ears against me." xi. Then she tried to kiss his hand. He was almost persuaded:—all seemed so plausible, so consistent with what Sosthenes had told him of Leucippe. But his jealousy was not wholly allayed; and his hatred of me was only exacerbated by the news that Leucippe was my wife. He said he should make all due investigations, and then went to bed alone.

Sosthenes went a little way with his master [ante vii, *ad fin.*]; then, returning, told Leucippe that all was going well: Thersander was madly in love with her, and might perhaps even marry her! "If so," he concluded, "you have me to thank!" xii. "May the gods requite you with equal happiness!" cried Leucippe. Sosthenes not perceiving her irony went on to praise Thersander—his birth, his wealth, his youth and personal attractions. This was more than Leucippe could endure. "Beast!" she exclaimed, "cease defiling my ears with talk of your Thersander. What's he to me? Let him be handsome for Melitta, rich for his country's weal, but kind and generous to those in need! Be he nobler-born than Codrus, and richer than Croesus, I care not.



I will praise him when he stops insulting other men's wives!" "You're jesting," said Sosthenes. "Not I," answered Leucippe, "leave me to my ill hap, evil enough without your talk. I know full well I am fallen into a den of pirates." "You're crazy!" exclaimed Sosthenes. "Do you call wealth and marriage and dainty living *piracy*? Why, Fortune gives you a husband whom the gods themselves love." And he gave her an embroidered account of Thersander's escape, making it a greater marvel than that of Arion. "Look to it," he concluded, "that you do not exasperate Thersander, kind as he is; for his anger once provoked will be proportional to his former goodwill." So much for Leucippe.

xiv. Clinias and Satyrus, informed by Melitta of my imprisonment, came to see me, and wished to pass the night with me, but were not permitted by the jailer. I asked them to come again in the morning and bring me whatever news they could get of Leucippe. When I was left alone, and thought over Melitta's promises, my mind was balanced between hope and fear: the hoping part was afraid, and the fearing part hoped.

xv. Next morning Sosthenes reported to his master; but instead of giving a true account of his failure, he said that Leucippe merely feared she should be abandoned after yielding. "She may be easy on that score," said Thersander, "my love for her is deathless. But I wonder whether she is that fellow's wife." At this point in their conversation they reached the cottage, and heard her soliloquizing within: xvi. "Alas,

Clitophon, neither of us knoweth where the other lies confined. Were you not also insulted by Thersander? Often have I desired to ascertain these things from Sosthenes: but if I called you husband, I feared still further to irritate Thersander against you; if I inquired as concerning a stranger, that too would excite suspicion. O Clitophon, faithful husband of Leucippe, you who would not yield to another woman even when she lay by your side,—though I, unloving, believed you had yielded!—what now shall I say to Thersander? Shall I throw up my acted part, and reveal myself—daughter of the Byzantine general, wife of Clitophon the first citizen of Tyre, myself no Thessalian, not Lacaena, but robbed by pirates of my very name? He would scarce believe me—but if he did, I fear for you. My freedom of speech must not ruin him who is dearest to me. So be it, then; I resume my rôle, and am once more Lacaena.” xvii. At this, Thersander exclaimed: “Ah, that adulterer supplants me everywhere. Melitta loves him, Leucippe loves him: the rogue is a wizard. Would I were he!” Sosthenes urged his master on. “To be sure,” he said, “Leucippe loves him now, but she’s never seen anybody else. Furthermore, a woman loves an absent lover only till she finds a present one. Ply her briskly, man!” Thersander took courage, for his desire coincided with his belief and his hope, and made them stronger. xviii. After waiting a short time, that Leucippe might not suspect he had overheard her soliloquy, Thersander entered. He was at once

inflamed by Leucippe, but dissembling his excitement, sat down beside her and talked incoherently of one thing and another. (So it is with a lover when he talks to his beloved. His mind is all absorbed by her, and his tongue babbles on unguided by reason.) While he talked he tried to embrace her; she resisted; and there ensued a struggle: Thersander at length desisting, Leucippe said: "You are acting neither like a free man nor like a man well-born. You imitate Sosthenes: like slave, like master. Spare your pains: you will not succeed unless you turn into Clitophon." xix. Thersander was torn between desire and rage. (Anger and desire: their enmity; their alliance.) xx. All his efforts proving vain, his love gave way to wrath: he smote her in the face and called her a lascivious slave; told her that he had overheard all about her love for an adulterer, that she ought to be glad *he* even spoke to her, and that if she would not have him for lover, she should feel his power as master. "I will bear all except dishonor," said Leucippe; and turning to Sosthenes: "You know how I meet attempts upon my chastity." Shamed by this exposure of his conduct, Sosthenes advised Thersander to scourge and torture Leucippe. xxi. "Ay, do!" cried Leucippe—"bring on your rack, your wheel, your whips, your fire, your iron. I stand ready—one woman against all your tortures—and victorious over all! You who call Clitophon adulterer, but would yourself commit adultery—do you not fear Artemis?—you who would force a maid in the city



of the maiden goddess?" "A maid forsooth!" sneered Thersander, "after passing through the hands of pirates?" "A maid I am," replied Leucippe, "and that despite Sosthenes. Ask him! *He* was my pirate: none of the others carried his insolence as far: this is the real pirates' den.—But come: I can only gain by the torture you propose. It will be said: 'She saved her virginity from pirates, from Chaereas, from Sosthenes;—all this is naught: she saved it from *Thersander*, more lustful than all; and he who could not dishonor her, killed her.' On with the torture, then! I am a woman, naked and alone; but one weapon I possess, my free spirit, which neither blows shall break, nor steel cut off, nor fire consume."

### Book VII

i. Thersander's mind fluctuated between grief, anger, and deliberation. For the present he left Leucippe, and after taking counsel with Sostratus, requested my jailer to poison me. The jailer declined, as his predecessor, who had poisoned a prisoner, had been put to death. Then Thersander arranged that a pretended prisoner should be placed in my cell, to inform me casually that Leucippe had been murdered, by the contrivance of Melitta. The purpose was twofold: if I should be acquitted of the charge of adultery, I should, first, believing Leucippe dead, make no further search for her, who would then be left wholly at Thersander's disposal; and, second, believing Melitta guilty of the murder of my beloved, should have nothing further to do with

her, but leave Ephesus as quickly as possible. ii. The fellow being brought in began to play his part at once. He groaned, and exclaimed upon his bad luck—speaking *to* himself, but *at* me, in order to excite my curiosity. I paid no attention to him, but at length one of my fellow-prisoners asked what had brought him there, and began by relating his own story. iii. Then the decoy in return told his tale: Yesterday as I was going to Smyrna I fell in with a young man by the way, and we went on together till we came to an inn, where we stopped for dinner. While we ate, four men came in, and sitting down at a table near by, pretended to eat, but continually looked at us, making signs to one another. At length my companion turned pale, ate more and more hesitatingly, and began to tremble,—whereupon the four jumped up, seized us both, and bound us. One of them struck my companion, who cried out as if under torture: ‘I did it—I killed the girl. But it was Melitta paid me for the job—Thersander’s wife. Here’s my pay—a hundred gold pieces—take them and let me go.’” At the names Melitta and Thersander, I started as if stung, and asked “What Melitta?” “Why, *the* Melitta,” he answered, “a lady of rank here. She fell in love with a young fellow—a Tyrian they say—, but he already had a mistress among Melitta’s slaves; and Melitta out of jealousy had her murdered by the fellow that bad luck threw in my way. Well—they took *me* up as his accomplice,—innocent as I am, but they let *him* off, all because he gave them the money.”

iv. At this story I neither groaned nor wept: I had neither voice nor tear; but I shuddered; my heart was loosed, and my soul almost departed. When I had recovered somewhat, I questioned him further; but he professed to know nothing more.—Then at last my tears came. (Just as, when the body has been smitten, the bruise does not at once appear, but reddens after a little; or as, when one has been wounded by a boar's tooth, the wound, deep-seated, cannot at first even be found, but after a little a white line appears, precursor of the blood, which soon flows freely: so when the soul has been wounded by the dart of grief, shot by a word, the wound does not appear at first, and tears follow only a long way after. For tears are the blood of a wounded soul. And when grief's tooth has somewhat gnawed at the heart, only then do the eyes open the gate of tears.) v. I now broke forth in lamentations: "Alas, Leucippe, shall I never cease to weep for thee? How many deaths hast thou died? How often been the plaything of Fortune? Those other deaths indeed were Fortune's jests, but not this last one: that is deadly earnest. From those, again, I had the solace of saving some part of thee—thy body, whole or headless; but now I have lost both thy soul and thy body. Two dens of thieves didst thou escape, only to succumb to this piracy of Melitta's. And to think that I, infamous and impious, have embraced thy murderer, and have given to her, ere I gave to thee, the offerings of Aphrodite!" vi. At this point, Clinias came to



see me; and I told him the story, and said I contemplated suicide. He tried to dissuade me: "Wait till you are sure that Leucippe is dead. You know she has a way of coming to life again. Wait at all events: there's always time to die." "What can be more certain than her death?" I replied, "Besides, I will die in such a way that Melitta shall not escape. I will plead guilty to the charge of adultery, and will further confess that Melitta and I together contrived Leucippe's death!" From this resolution Clinias vainly endeavored to dissuade me.—That day he and Satyrus changed their lodgings, in order to be no longer with Melitta's foster-brother. On that day, too, the decoy prisoner was liberated, under pretence of being sent before the magistrate.

vii. Next day I was taken to court, where Thersander appeared with a great following, and no less than ten advocates. Melitta also had prepared a careful defense. When the advocates had done talking, I asked to be heard. "All this is naught to the purpose:" said I, "the facts are these. A long time ago I loved a woman of Byzantium named Leucippe. Believing her to be dead, for she had been captured by pirates in Egypt, I met Melitta, and we have since lived together. Upon our arrival here, we found Leucippe a slave to Sosthenes, Thersander's bailiff. Just how a free woman became his slave, or what was his complicity with the pirates, is for you to determine. When Melitta learned that I had found my first wife, she feared to lose my affection and plotted to kill Leucippe. I

joined in the scheme—why should I deny the truth?—as Melitta promised to put me in possession of her property. For a hundred pieces of gold I hired an assassin, who, having done the deed, has disappeared. But Love has punished me: as soon as I heard that Leucippe was dead, I repented—for I loved and still love her. It is for this reason that I accuse myself,—that you may send me to my beloved. A murderer, and a lover of her I murdered, I will no longer endure to live.” viii. My speech astonished them all. Thersander’s lawyers already claimed a victory; Melitta’s were thrown into confusion. Questioned by them, she agitatedly admitted some things and denied others; so that they hardly knew what defense to adopt. ix. At this juncture Clinias asked a hearing, as this was a capital case: “Ephesians,” he said, “be not rash to condemn a man who asks death as a boon. He has falsely accused himself, taking upon himself the guilt of others.” He proceeded to point out the inconsistency of my killing the woman I loved and loving the woman I killed, and of my loving Melitta and still implicating her in the murder of Leucippe. He added that I merely *believed* Leucippe to have been murdered; and recounted the facts as to Sosthenes’s attempts upon her, together with the story of the false prisoner. He then suggested that this man, and Sosthenes, and the maids who accompanied Leucippe, be called as witnesses. In conclusion he urged that I be not condemned at least till this further testimony had been heard; for that my grief had put me

out of my mind, so that my confession was naught. x. Though many deemed this a reasonable argument, Thersander's counsel demanded immediate sentence upon the self-confessed murderer. Melitta produced her maids, and required Thersander to produce Sosthenes. But Thersander instead secretly sent Sosthenes warning to get out of the way. Sosthenes, who was with Leucippe when he received the message, was so scared that he at once took horse for Smyrna, riding off in such a hurry that he neglected to secure the door. xi. Thersander, in reply to Clinias, urged that sentence be pronounced: what Clinias had said was all irrelevant, or, if relevant, might be admitted. Certainly Sosthenes had bought a slave-girl; certainly the girl had been in Melitta's hands: that was all Sosthenes could testify to. "But what have this precious lot, this self-confessed murderer and his defender, done with my property—that very slave-girl?" he continued,—making this point in order to support his claim to Leucippe, when she should be found alive. "And as for the maids who were with her, you hardly expect that they will prove to have witnessed the murder—do you? Doubtless they were separated from her at some convenient place in order that these people's hirelings might do their work in secret. That story of another prisoner—who ever heard such a cock-and-bull story as that? And Sosthenes—where, I ask, is Sosthenes? I strongly suspect that they have made away with him too, and that this man of words demands him in order to em-



barrass *me*. I don't know where he is,—haven't seen him for three days; and his disappearance is very suspicious, inasmuch as he it was who first informed me of the adultery. Doubtless these people are none too fond of him!—But now, judgment! Not without the intervention of the deity has the prisoner confessed.” xii. Thersander swore that he did not know what had become of Sosthenes. The judge, after advising with his counsellors, then pronounced sentence of death upon me. Melitta's portion of the case was to be adjourned till the testimony of the servants could be taken; Thersander was to put in writing his oath as to Sosthenes; finally, I, being outlawed by my condemnation, was to be examined under torture concerning Melitta's complicity in the murder. I was soon bound, stripped, and hung up by cords; some brought scourges, others the wheel and the fire;—when lo—the priest of Artemis was seen approaching:—the sign of a sacred embassy. During the period of such sacrifices all punishments were suspended; and I was therefore released.—The chief of the embassy was no other than Leucippe's father Sostratus. Artemis had appeared to the Byzantines and given them victory against the Thracians, in gratitude wherefor the victors had sent this offering. Moreover she had appeared to Sostratus in a dream, and had revealed to him that he should find his daughter, and his brother's son, at Ephesus. Such was the explanation of his presence.

xiii. When Leucippe found the cottage door

left open, and no sign of Sosthenes, she took courage, remembering how often she had been saved, and determined to utilize her good Fortune. She at once retreated to the temple of Artemis, and there took sanctuary. This temple was open to men, to free maids, and to slaves whether maids or not; but a free woman not a maid was not permitted to enter it, and if she did so was put to death. (A slave might take refuge there to appeal to the law against her master: if he were adjudged to be in the right, he resumed the slave, first swearing to bear her no ill-will for her flight; if her complaint were well-founded, she remained in the temple as a servant of the goddess.) Hither Leucippe came at the time when Sostratus had taken the priest to court; so that she narrowly missed her father.

xiv. When I was released, a great crowd gathered about me; among them Sostratus, who having seen me in Tyre at a festival of Hercules some time before our flight, recognized me at once—the more readily as his dream had led him to expect to find us—and cried out: “Here is Clitophon—now where is Leucippe?” I cast down my eyes and said nothing; but the bystanders told him of what I had accused myself. At this he struck me on the head, and almost pulled my eyes out; for, far from resisting, I rather offered my countenance to his blows. Clinias coming forward endeavored to pacify him. “This man,” he said, “loves Leucippe more dearly than you do; and it is only because he believes her to be dead that he has thus

accused himself." But Sostratus lamented, calling upon Artemis: "Is this the outcome of the dream you sent? You promised me my daughter—you give me her murderer!" Again Clinias answered: "Courage, father,—Artemis never deceives. Leucippe is alive, you may be sure. See how wonderfully the goddess has rescued Clitophon from torture!" xv. At that moment one of the ministers of the temple ran up to the priest, saying, "A foreign maiden has just taken refuge in the sanctuary." I began to take hope, and seemed almost to live once more. "Is she not beautiful?" asked Clinias. "Only Artemis herself surpasses her," was the answer. "'Tis Leucippe!" I cried. "'Twas even so she named herself," said the minister, "and declared herself to be Sostratus' daughter, of Byzantium." Clinias broke into rapturous applause, Sostratus fainted for joy, and I jumped up despite my chains, and made for the temple as if shot from a catapult. My guards, thinking I was trying to escape, gave chase, but my feet were winged. At length I was stopped, and the guards coming up would have struck me; but I now resisted; and they dragged me towards the prison. xvi. Clinias and Sostratus came up again and remonstrated with the guards, declaring me not guilty of the murder for which I had been condemned, and protesting against my further imprisonment. As the guards declared that they were not allowed to release a condemned prisoner, the priest at Sostratus' request became my bail, promising to guard me, and to produce me in court whenever



required. Freed from my chains, I ran with all speed to the temple, Sostratus following. But Rumor had outstripped us both; and already Leucippe knew about both Sostratus and me. She darted out of the temple and threw her arms about her father, but at the same time turned her eyes to me. Restrained by respect for Sostratus, I stood still; but was wholly absorbed in looking at Leucippe; so that we embraced with our eyes.

### Book VIII

i. As we were about to sit down and talk matters over, Thersander came up, accompanied by witnesses, and abused the priest, both for liberating a prisoner under sentence and for detaining Thersander's slave, a lewd woman. "Slave yourself and debauchee!" I answered, "She is a free woman, a maiden, and worthy of the goddess." At that he struck me repeatedly on the nose, so that the blood flowed,—until his fist happened to hit my teeth. My teeth avenged the injury done to my nose, and he drew back his hand with a yell. Feigning not to observe his hurt, I made a tragic outcry: ii. "What place is safe from the impious, when the very temples of the gods are violated? Such deeds are wont to be done in lonely places where no eye can see; but you commit them in the very sight of the goddess. The temple gives asylum even to criminals; but you outrage an innocent man. Your violence is done to Artemis herself. Not only in blows does it consist, but in actual bloodshed. What a libation! Ionia you turn into

Scythia, and at Ephesus emulate the barbarous Taurians, who defile their altars with blood. Why not draw your sword upon me?—But what need? Your murderous hand will suffice.” iii. At this an indignant crowd gathered and reproached him, as did also the priest. Encouraged by their demonstrations, I exclaimed: “Men of Ephesus, behold what I suffer—a free man, and a citizen of no mean city—my life conspired against by this man, and saved only by Artemis, who has shown him forth as a calumniator. But now it befits me to go forth and wash my face, lest the holy water be defiled with the blood of violence.” Thersander, as he was thrust forth, said: “Upon you, sentence has been passed, and execution cannot tarry long; as for this strumpet who would pass for a maid—the syrinx shall judge of *her*.” iv. I then washed my face, and went to supper with the priest, who received us most kindly. At first we were all silent; I ashamed to look Sostratus in the face; Sostratus unwilling to look at my eyes, swollen by his blows; Leucippe with her eyes cast down. At length, when the wine had somewhat cheered us, the priest requested Sostratus to tell his story. But he passed the privilege on to me. “Speak freely, son,” he said, “and without embarrassment. The griefs I have suffered are to be attributed chiefly not to you but to the divinity. Moreover, the narration of griefs which one no longer suffers, is a pleasure.” v. Accordingly I told the whole story, from our leaving Tyre to the arrival of the sacred embassy, suppressing

only my actual intercourse with Melitta. I went on to praise Leucippe's fortitude in enduring trials even more cruel in order to preserve her virginity; and I assured Sostratus that we had not brought our marriage to its consummation: if there were maidenhead in men, I was virgin as to Leucippe; while she was true to Artemis. I then deprecated the displeasure of Aphrodite—for that we had awaited only the presence of Leucippe's father to approve our nuptials—and invoked her favor for the future. "But what," I asked the priest, "is the meaning of Thersander's threat about the syrinx?" vi. (He answered by describing the pipes of Pan, and their construction according of the laws of harmony, and by recounting the myth of Pan and Syrinx.) "The pipe of Pan," he continued, "now hangs in a cavern in the grove behind the temple, and, having been consecrated to Artemis, affords a test of virginity. She who is to undergo the ordeal enters the cave, and is shut in. If she be a clean maid, the pipes emit sweet sounds, the doors open of themselves, and she appears crowned with pine. If not, a groan is heard, the pipes are mute, and she is left to her fate. After three days the priestess enters, and finds the syrinx fallen to the ground; but the woman has vanished. If, now, as I hope, Leucippe is a virgin, you may joyfully submit to the ordeal; but if not—for you know what she may against her will have been compelled to suffer in the course of such perils—" vii. Here Leucippe interrupted, expressing her entire willingness to take



the ordeal; and the priest congratulated her upon her virtue and her fortune. To both Leucippe and me it seemed that Sostratus somewhat feared the issue; accordingly, as she embraced him on retiring, she assured him again, upon her oath by Artemis, that we had spoken the truth. Then we all went to bed.

Next day the sacred embassy fulfilled its mission; and Thersander, present at the sacrifice, asked that the case be set down for the morrow. His request was granted. viii. When the trial opened, Thersander said: "I cannot do justice to this case, so complicated is it with a variety of crimes. An adulterer murders other people's slaves; a murderer commits adultery; bullies and harlots defile the sanctuary. Where shall I begin, then? The simplest point is this:—you have sentenced a man to death:—why is he not executed? Instead, he stands here free, and will dare to speak against your judgment. I demand that the sentence be read. 'Clitophon is to die.' Where is the executioner? Let him do his duty. Clitophon is in law already dead, and has lived a day too long. Now to you, Sir Priest. What is your excuse for liberating this prisoner? Let the Court step down and abdicate its jurisdiction to you. Come, take your seat as tyrant over us all, next in worship after Artemis! Indeed, Artemis's peculiar privilege of sanctuary—that asylum for the unfortunate, but not for the criminal—you have already usurped! You give it to a condemned murderer and adulterer; him and his shameless paramour, a runaway slave,

you shelter under the same roof with the maiden goddess. You turn the temple into a brothel. My second charge is against Melitta for adultery, and here I demand that her maids be subjected to the torture. If she be innocent, well; if guilty, let her forfeit her property to me. In that case, too, Clitophon's guilt is proved, and he must suffer death for adultery. Guilty of both crimes, if he suffer for only one he will evade justice: he ought to die two deaths; and though punished he will remain unpunished.—My third point concerns this slave of mine;—but upon that I reserve what I have to say until you have decided respecting the other two.”

ix. The priest now replied, beginning in an Aristophanic vein by exposing Thersander's mode of life, whom he accused of all imaginab'e foulness. He next rebutted the charge against himself, by appealing to the judges' knowledge of the purity of his own life. Then he pleaded for me, that the very woman I was charged with murdering was at that moment alive! In the face of this, how could the sentence hold? Thersander it was who would play the tyrant; he would have men imprisoned of his own motion, would try them and judge them in his own house: the judge had better resign in *his* favor. As for murder, Thersander had plotted double murder: he had in words done Leucippe to death; and Clitophon he had fain done to death indeed. “But Artemis has saved them both,” the priest concluded, “snatching Clitophon from Thersander, and Leucippe from Sosthenes,—whom no other than

Thersander has put out of the way. So much for my defense." x. When the advocate for Melitta and me rose to speak, one of Thersander's counsel, named Sopater, took the floor first. He accused the priest of improper conduct with both Leucippe and me; averred that Thersander had been a man of pure life who had married a lewd woman; and enlarged upon the circumstances—publicity, etc., of Melitta's alleged adultery. xi. Thersander interrupted him: "Let us waste no more words. I challenge Leucippe and Melitta to the ordeal, in the following terms (and he read aloud): 'If Melitta have not committed adultery with Clitophon during my absence, let her go into the sacred fountain of the Styx. If Leucippe admit that she is not a virgin let her (die or) be my slave, for only to virgins or to slaves does the temple afford sanctuary; if she insist that she is a virgin, let her be shut into the cave of the syrinx.'" Leucippe accepted the challenge; Melitta not only accepted it, but asked Thersander to what penalty he would submit if his charge proved groundless. "I will submit," he replied, "to whatever the law decrees." The court then appointed the following day for the ordeals, and adjourned.

xii. This is the legend of the Stygian fountain: Rhodopis a beautiful maiden had vowed allegiance to Artemis, who made her a companion of the chase. Aphrodite heard the oath and was angered. At Ephesus there was a beautiful youth named Euthynicus, who, like Rhodopis, loved the chase and disdained love. One day,



Artemis absent, Aphrodite contrived to make the game they followed run to the same place, so that the two approached each other. Then she begged Eros to make an example of this disdainful pair. He shot the maiden just as she shot the deer, but his shaft was love for Euthynicus. Euthynicus he wounded with a second arrow. Now the pair beheld each other, and at first stood motionless, unwilling to turn away their eyes; but soon, their wounds inflaming, Eros led them to a grotto, where they broke the oath. When Artemis upon her return saw Aphrodite laugh, she comprehended what had taken place, and she changed Rhodopis into a fountain in that very cave. Hence, a woman whose chastity is suspected is obliged to step into the fountain, bearing suspended from her neck a tablet on which is written her oath. If it be truly sworn, the fountain remains unmoved, midleg deep; if not, it rises to her neck and overflows the tablet.

xiii. Next day, crowds gathered to witness the ordeal. Thersander looked at us with a contemptuous smile. Leucippe was clad in the sacred robe of fine white linen, reaching to the feet and girt at the waist; her head was encircled with a purple fillet; her feet were bare. Modestly she entered the cave; and I prayed to Pan—not that I doubted her virginity—but rather that I feared an attempt upon her by Pan himself. I prayed him, therefore, to be mindful of his compact with Artemis. xiv. While I prayed there was heard a strain of music—the sweetest,

they said, that had ever issued from the cave—and at once the doors flew open. When Leucippe came forth, the multitude shouted with delight, and vented execrations upon Thersander. What were my transports, I cannot attempt to describe.

Next everybody went to see Melitta's trial. She too was entirely successful, the fountain not rising in the slightest; and after the allotted time the chief judge led her forth. Thus was Thersander defeated in two ordeals; and in order to avoid a third—he feared he should be stoned!—he made off to his own house. And not too soon; for he had seen, far off, Sosthenes being dragged in by four young men—relatives of Melitta and their servants—who had been searching for him; and well he knew that the slave would tell all when put to the torture. That night Thersander fled the city, and Sosthenes was committed to prison. As for us, we were triumphantly acquitted, to everyone's approval. xv. Next day, Sosthenes made a full confession to avoid the torture, and was remanded for sentence, while Thersander was banished.

The priest received us again, and at dinner we related those of our adventures which we had omitted before. Leucippe in particular no longer blushed to tell her experiences; and I questioned her especially about the mystery of the pirates of Pharos—of the person whose head was cut off—this being the only incident wanting to complete the plot. [See V. vii.] xvi. "The pirates," she answered, "had lured on board a harlot, under

promise that one of them would marry her. They made me change clothes with her ; and then, taking her on the deck, they cut off her head and threw her body into the sea. Afterward, some distance off, they also threw in her head. Whether they had taken her to sell as a slave, or for the purpose of this *qui pro quo*, I know not ; but if they had entertained the first plan, it was at Chaereas's instance that they gave it up, and it was this that brought about his punishment. For, having sacrificed her, who would have brought them profit, they now proposed to sell me instead, and merely share the proceeds with him. Chaereas protested, reminding them of their agreement, and words rose high—when one of the pirates came up behind and cut off his head. So he too went overboard ! After two days' voyage, the pirates took me I know not where, and sold me to the merchant who sold me to Sosthenes."

xvii. Sostratus then related the remainder of the story of Callisthenes and my sister Calligone. [See II. xviii.] First recapitulating the portion already told—the oracle, the sacrifice and the abduction—he continued: "Callisthenes soon discovered that the girl he had carried off was not my daughter ; but by this time he had fallen in love with Calligone herself. On his knees he implored her pardon for his violence, revealed his birth and rank, averred that only love had made him turn pirate, offered her honorable marriage, and declared himself her slave. She was brought thus to favor him. When they reached Byzan-



tium, he assigned her an ample dowry and made splendid preparations for the wedding,—all the time treating her with scrupulous honor; so that he gradually won her affection. He became wonderfully altered in character: grew courteous instead of insolent, liberal instead of extravagant, and so public-spirited, so respectful to his elders, that I recalled the case of Themistocles, and regretted that I had not granted him my daughter's hand. He now qualified himself, too, for military service, became an adept in cavalry exercise, contributed largely to the war with the Thracians, and at length was chosen my colleague in the command. Here also he distinguished himself, and always with modesty. xviii. When we were finally victorious, and had returned to Byzantium, it was decreed that sacred embassies take thank-offerings to Artemis and to Hercules; so that I was sent to Ephesus and he to Tyre. Before setting out he told me the whole story of the escapade which had turned out so creditably, and added that he should ask the consent of Calligone's father at Tyre, and either marry her with all due regard to law, or give her back a maiden. I wrote to my brother, supporting Callisthenes's suit. Now if we win the appeal Thersander has instituted, I should like, after returning to Byzantium, to go to Tyre." xix. It was on the next day that we learned from Clinias of Thersander's flight from the city; whose appeal, after three days, lapsed by his default. We then embarked for Byzantium, where we were married; and a short time later, we sailed for

Tyre, which we reached two days after the arrival of Callisthenes and Calligone. Next day we assisted at their wedding, uniting our prayers for the happiness of both the marriages. We planned, after wintering at Ephesus, to return to Byzantium in the spring.

## CHAPTER II

### PLOT, CHARACTER (HUMOR), SETTING; STRUCTURE, STYLE

The Greek Romances, evidently, have for their material the staples of the world's fiction—love and adventure, more or less interwoven; and it is upon this generic similarity in matter that their specific differences in treatment are thrown into relief. For the present purpose, which is rather to characterize critically the Greek Romance than to appreciate separately the Greek Romances, it will suffice to draw attention to some of the differences without dwelling on them. The comparison will serve the descriptive purpose in view, and will at the same time serve to modify, as far as may be needful, the generalizations put forward in the introductory sketch.

In their plots, Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius all employ, as has been observed, some agency other than natural causation and human character. Heliodorus distributes the extra-human action in his main plot almost equally between Fortune and Providence—the latter, perhaps, slightly predominating. The exposure of Chariclea, which, both chronologically and causally, begins the story, is by common consent regarded as an avowed surrender to Fortune (II. xxxi; IV. viii). But immediately Providence sends the good gymnosophist to the rescue



—a rescue the providential nature of which is to be inferred indirectly, though clearly enough, from the hieratic estate of Sisimithres, and directly from the assertion of Calasiris (II. xxiii): "The Goddes have made them my children by chaunce" (U 63), which by its confrontation of "The Goddes" with "chaunce," puts the matter beyond doubt. It is the gods, then, that have controlled, through Fortune as their instrument, the whole of that triple chain of seeming coincidences which brought Calasiris, Theagenes, and Chariclea together at Delphi. An examination of these occurrences will show their hieratic character. Charicles a priest of Apollo has received Chariclea from the priestly Sisimithres; Chariclea has become a priestess of Diana; Theagenes has come to Delphi upon a religious mission, and first sees Chariclea at the sacrifice; Calasiris, himself a priest of Isis, has been providentially warned of the dangers of his further stay in Memphis, and has appropriately retired to Delphi,<sup>1</sup> where, now, Apollo and Diana by dreams and oracles expressly place him in charge of the hero and the heroine, bid him return with them, and predict for them a happy destiny. Thus Theagenes and Chariclea are passed from one priestly hand to another; even the sudden death of Calasiris, which throws them into the power of Arsace, has been foreseen, and ironically foretold by the oracle; till at the end they are saved

<sup>1</sup> On this hieratic element, and its special connection with the cult of sun- and moon-gods (Apollo, Artemis, Isis, etc.) and with the element of travel, see Schwartz, *Fünf Vorträge*, pp. 17-19.

by the appearance of the priest Charicles, and their restoration turns into a religious festival. The final emphasis is distinctly hieratic: what is signalized by Heliodorus is not so much the merely human happiness of the personages, as the triumph of the gymnosophists in abolishing human sacrifice, the fulfilment of the Delphic dreams and oracles, and the induction of Theagenes and Chariclea into the priesthood. Though in the whole range of the "*Æthiopica*" the events attributable to Fortune may exceed in number those attributable to Providence, and though the name of Fortune may be much oftener upon the lips of the actors, this hieratic control, with its assertion of divine guidance, must not be forgotten. It quite decidedly makes for that general elevation of tone which distinguishes Heliodorus.

Bearing it in mind, we may examine the activity of Fortune in the "*Æthiopica*." Besides the initial exposure of Chariclea, already noticed, the following incidents seem fortuitous: the storm which drove the ship from its course and toward the haunt of the robbers (V. xxvii); the meetings of Calasiris with Nausicles and with Cnemon (II. xxi); the capture of Theagenes and Chariclea by the troops of Mithranes (V. ii) with its consequences—the enslavement of Theagenes, and the restoration of Chariclea to Calasiris through the agency of Nausicles; the recapture of Theagenes by the Bessene insurgents under Thyamis (VI. iii) and the consequent presence of Theagenes at Memphis; the inter-

change of the harmless with the poisoned cup (VIII. vii) ; the capture of Theagenes and Chariclea by the Ethiopian troops (VIII. xvii), and their consequent restoration to Hydaspes and Persina. Yet, the moment the consequences of many of these apparently fortuitous events are looked into, it is found that they too are envisaged as providential,—some wholly, like the restoration to Ethiopia promised by the oracle; some partly, like the arrival of Theagenes at Memphis just in time for a reunion with Chariclea and Calasiris. So that the chief of these incidents—those which are essential to the main plot, must be taken, at least in large part, out of the dominion of chance.

In the episodes of the tale, though, that dominion is unquestioned. The story of Cnemon gives no hint of providential guidance; allusions to the control of Fortune abound (I. xiii, xv; II. xi; VI. vii) ; and the ending—Cnemon's marriage to the daughter of Nausicles—is quite casual. We have nowhere heard that she or Cnemon gave one another the slightest attention. Suddenly we are told (U 161-2) "Cariclia perceived by many signes that Cnemon was in love with Nausicles daughter . . . and that also Nausicles went about . . . to make a marriage" between them. He does in fact offer her to Cnemon, who accepts her. The alleged falling in love, the offer, and the acceptance, are all equally unmotivated and unprepared for—merely "sprung." Heliodorus has no further use for Cnemon and Nausicles,—that is all; and he puts



them out of his story in as accidental and as summary a manner as he had put out Thermuthis (II. xix). Other episodes—the skill of Tyrrenus the deaf fisherman (V. xviii), Theagenes's service at Arsace's table (VII. xxvii), the siege of Syene (IX. v), the attempted assassination of Oroöndates (IX. xx)—all likewise treat Fortune as a *vera causa*.

In the speech of the personages throughout, "Fortune" occurs very frequently,—now as a mere *cliché* for "whatever happens," or for "estate in life," or for "the instability of things human" (e. g., II. xxi, xxiii; V. v, xiv; X. ii); now in real though conventional senses, as a power to complain of or abuse, to yield or not to yield to, and the like (I. xx; V. vi, vii; VI. xiv; VII. xxi; VIII. vi; X. vii); or finally, as always in the episodes, to designate a genuine mover of events (VI. x; VII. xii, xv, xvii; IX. ii; X. xxxiv). But here too the reader is kept reminded of the enveloping Providence which employs Fortune as an instrument. When Theagenes, about to place himself and Chariclea under the protection of Calasiris, implores him: "Save us. . . . Save our bodies hereafter committed to Fortune," the old priest bids them "hope for a luckie ende, in that this matter was begonne by the will and counsell of the Goddes" (IV. xviii; U 116-117). In these words of comfort there is an implied rebuke as well. Charicles, too, though he laments the abduction of his adopted daughter, acknowledges that it is more than a mischance: it is a punishment inflicted

upon him for sacrilege (IV. xix). And the subjection of chance (Τύχη, καιρὸς, τὸ αὐτόματον) to the more august Fate or Destiny, or "the Divine" (αἱ μοῖραι, τὸ εἰμαρμένον, ὁ δαίμων, τὸ δαιμόνιον, τὸ προωρισμένον) appears plainly in the comment upon Calasiris's opportune arrival under the walls of Memphis: though he "could not escape the necessitie of Destinie," yet he "seemed to use fortunes great favour for that hee came in due time to that which was determined before" (VII. viii; U 182).

The assertion generally accepted, that Fortune is absolute ruler of the Greek Romance, seems therefore subject to modification, at least, as regards Heliodorus. Incapable he certainly is of moving his story upon a basis of character and causation; in fact he sometimes seems positively unwilling to do so. In the dénouement, where Chariclea is just on the point of revealing her true relation with Theagenes—a perfectly natural disclosure which would have brought about the happy ending by the purely normal means of human motive and action—the author deliberately rejects these means in favor of a *deus ex machina*, Charicles. But though he does take his plot out of the control of character and causation, he does not abandon it to Fortune. At least its main events are controlled by a divine intention, and shadow forth, however dimly, the ways of the gods. Such seems to be the task that Heliodorus set himself. His way, therefore, of deliberately unfolding his story upon a plan of epic magnitude, and of interlarding it with fragments

from Homer and the tragedians, is not the incongruity it may seem at first to be. With the literary instrument afforded him by his decadent time he has attempted great things—things far greater than he can achieve. At least, *magnis excidit ausis*; and, despite his failure, it is his high aim which saves “Theagenes and Chariclea” from sinking into the baseness of “Clitophon and Leucippe.”

If in Heliodorus Providence on the whole controls the main plot and Fortune the minor events, this apportionment of power is in large measure reversed by Achilles Tatius. He does, to be sure, give to the episodic *novella* of Callisthenes and Calligone a conventional hieratic beginning. But all the ceremonial richness of these sacrifices, omens, dreams, and oracles (II. xi–xviii) is lavished upon a mere episode. The main plot is ruled by Fortune: there the oracles and visions are *her* instruments—riddling devices to shift people to and fro on the earth, to put them into grotesque situations, or to give *ex post facto* sanction to their reckless acts. Thus Artemis is allowed as a matter of form to pledge the lovers to chastity (IV. i), and at length, after Fortune has played her play out, to restore them to Leucippe’s father. But—why did they need to be restored at all? Why did they run away? What were they doing in that galley?

The answer is significant in two ways, which are after all but one: it shows at once Achilles Tatius’s distorted treatment of character (and will therefore be touched upon again when char-



acter comes to be discussed), and also his utter dependence upon Fortune to start his story and keep it going. Fortune, he will have it, is to blame for the flight of Clitophon and Leucippe. This exoneration of the lovers is put not in their own mouth only, but in that of the parents whom they have presumably offended. Clitophon's father, we learn (V. x), was much chagrined because Clitophon had lost Leucippe's hand, and "because Fortune had made him lose it by so little: for none of the subsequent events would have occurred if only the letter had been delivered sooner." Undoubtedly, if the letter had come in time, Clitophon and Leucippe would not have been tempted to elope; but the fallacy consists in the tacit assumption that as the letter did not come in time, therefore it was Fortune that made them elope. In fact and in morals, Fortune being what she was, they still had their choice.—Clitophon himself, as might have been expected, takes this fallacious view, and at once (V. xi) rails upon Fortune. But the most striking promulgation of the fallacy is made by Leucippe's father. Urging Clitophon to tell his adventures, Sostratus assures him that he bears him no ill-will: "For if anything grievous has happened to me, it is chiefly attributable not to you but to Fortune" (VIII. iv). These passages are characteristic and important, dealing as they do with what *we* should call the crucial decision—the first moral choice—which opens the adventures of the hero and the heroine. The view here taken of

Fortune, as something to blame even for a moral choice, and the function here assigned to her, of prime mover of the plot, are confirmed throughout the romance of Achilles Tatius. Clitophon's father has intended Calligone for him, but *αἱ Μοῖραι*<sup>2</sup> have reserved for him another bride (I. iii); Fortune herself appears to him, portends her own cruelties in cutting him apart from his mistress (*ibid.*) and begins the action (*ἤρχετο τοῦ δράματος ἢ τύχῃ*). After the abortive rendezvous the young men determine to take Leucippe if she will go; if not, to remain at home and commit themselves to Fortune (II. xxvi): at length they embark without inquiring whither their ship is bound (II. xxxvi), and commit themselves to Fortune indeed! So it is from beginning to end; and to recount the activity of Fortune in the story is to recount the story itself. Reference to the analysis given in Chapter I. will obviate such a necessity.<sup>3</sup> It will show both the frequency with which Fortune is spoken of by the personages, and the fortuitous character of events not expressly ascribed to her.

<sup>2</sup> As Providence, Destiny, etc., play so small a part in his story, Achilles Tatius has no particular use for the distinction between *τύχῃ* and its synonyms on the one hand, and *ὁ δαίμων* and its synonyms (*αἱ Μοῖραι*, for instance) on the other. Only two unimportant passages (III. v and VIII. xix) seem to rest upon such a distinction. Elsewhere, as at V. xi and VIII. iv above cited, *ὁ δαίμων* = *Τύχῃ*. In fact *Τύχῃ* herself has almost become a minor goddess, like the Roman *Fortuna*; she can be sworn by (V. xvi, xx) as well as *at*. She is, at the very least, much more a personification than an abstraction.

<sup>3</sup> The analysis of "Clitophon and Leucippe" was made with particular attention to its use for reference, and will serve as an index to the original.

Two points, however, need to be more especially noted, as effects of the absence of Providence from Achilles Tatius's plan. When human activity in a critical situation has been baffled, then not Providence, but Fortune, takes charge. So of Charicles when he cannot control his horse (I. xii); so of the eloping party in the storm at sea (III. ii); so of Clinias after the waves have torn him from the spar (V. ix). This direct confrontation of Fortune with Man is even more interestingly exemplified when the two powers are regarded as co-operating: either chance helps a human plan already laid (II. iv, vi; III. xxii) or a human being sees an opportunity open, and takes it (I. x; IV. i; VII. xiii).<sup>4</sup> Both the opposition and the co-operation of Man and Fortune (due, as has been seen, to the omission of the third factor, Providence) anticipate the views so characteristic of the Renaissance, that *Fortuna* is opposed to "*Virtù*"—viz. the human element, or force of personality; but that *Virtù* can seize the Opportunity (*Occasio*, *καιρός*) from time to time afforded by *Fortuna*.<sup>5</sup>

In "Daphnis and Chloe," control is assigned neither to Fortune nor to the gods in general,

<sup>4</sup> The number of cases where Fortune *helps* the lovers seems to invalidate Koerting's generalization ("Gesch. des franz. Rom. im 17ten Jhdt." I. 31) that love is the motive force, and adventure (i. e., the activity of Fortune) the *retarding* force, of the plot; and so renders impossible the temptingly simple treatment suggested thereby.

<sup>5</sup> Chastity, a virtue which forms part of a woman's *virtù*, is coupled with Fortune at VIII. vii, where the priest congratulates Leucippe *ὕπὲρ σωφροσύνης καὶ τύχης*. At V. xii, Fortune and Nature are contrasted, as at Hel. VII. xxvii.



but to Eros. Love, whether as a passion or as a person, dominates the plot. The story itself explains a series of paintings which represent "The fortunes of Love" (τύχην ἐρωτικὴν, Pro-œmium); and it is Eros that first disturbs the childish amusements of the boy and the girl (I. xi) and begins their sentimental adventures;—performing thus the function we have so far seen assigned to Fortune, that of giving the initial impulse. The Nymphs who have guarded Daphnis and Chloe in childhood present them to the winged god (I. vii); again (II. xxiii) the Nymphs tell Daphnis that Eros will take care of him and Chloe; and (IV. xxxiv) it is Eros whom the Nymphs request to sanction Daphnis and Chloe's marriage. Pan and the Nymphs, then, to whom, jointly with Eros, the book is dedicated (Proœmium), seem to be deputies of Eros in the various visions and rescues in which they figure (II. xxiii, xxvi–xxvii; III. xxvii); while, for both Daphnis and Chloe, the dénouement, resulting from the discovery of their parentage, is brought about by Love. In Daphnis's case, it is Gnatho's proposals that determine Lamon (IV. xviii–xix) to reveal the secret; in Chloe's case, it is a direct command from Eros in a vision (IV. xxxiv) that leads to the display of her tokens to the wedding-guests, and the consequent recognition of them by her father.

This plot, controlled by Eros, Eros decrees shall be a *pastoral* plot: he receives the children from the nymphs, and dedicates them to the

shepherds' life (I. vii)—an element wholly wanting in the romances of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius. Heliodorus makes nothing of Chariclea's childhood among the shepherds (Hel. II. xxxi) and leaves in a rudimentary state his "piscatory eclogue" (V. xviii),—which, however, serves sufficiently its purpose as an interlude, or breathing-space between the more stirring adventures. As for Achilles Tatius, he is a cockney absolute; in him there is not the suggestion of a pastoral. But in "Daphnis and Chloe," Eros divides his honors with the rustic divinities—Pan and the Nymphs; and at the end, we learn that the young couple not only now, but during the remainder of their days, led a pastoral life (IV. xxxix).

Yet it should not be overlooked that the pastoral of Longus is a pastoral from the point of view of the city. The discovery of the children's city origin is regarded as a happy event, and produces the dénouement. The visit of the city folk, most elaborately prepared for, is aggrandized by means of the apparatus of tragedy (borrowed by Longus only this once), which through a series of rumors and messengers announces the master no less than four times (III. xxxi; IV. i, v, ix)—each time as coming a little sooner,—until at length he appears. Though the wedding is a rustic one, its rusticity is gently ridiculed<sup>6</sup> (IV. xxxviii, the over-nearness of the

<sup>6</sup> Angel Day's version is pervaded by this indulgent ridicule of rustic wits, manners, speech and dress.

goats to the wedding-guests; IV. xl, the rugged chorus). Moreover the whole story has an urban "enveloping action" at the beginning and at the end, in the exposure and the restoration of the children. From this plan it is but a step to the employment of the whole pastoral as an episode or interlude in an urban story:—such an interlude permitting a plot that has become entangled with the complex evils of court or town, to straighten itself out under the simpler conditions of country life, and reach a happy end. Upon this sophistication in Longus we shall return when we come to speak of his treatment of love.

That Fortune should have little or no power in "Daphnis and Chloe" is a natural consequence

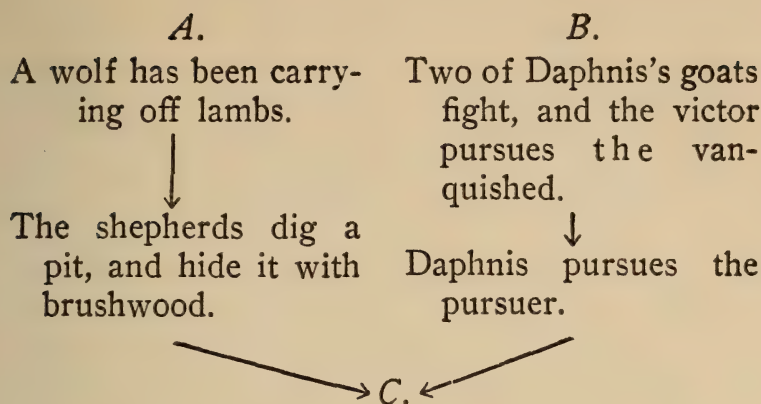
As a *cliché*, of course, "Fortune" occurs frequently. At I. ii and I. viii it simply equals "estate or condition in life; at II. x it means little, if any, more than our "it happened"—*τύχη* being here as colorless as the syllable "hap" in our verb. More real are the attributions of power at III. xxxiv, where the apple is said to have been saved by Fortune; and at IV. xxiv—a passage worth giving in full. Daphnis's father speaks: "I exposed this child, placing these (the sword, etc.) with him not as tokens by which he might be recognized, but as memorials with which he might be buried. But the decrees of Fortune were otherwise (*τὰ δὲ τῆς τύχης ἄλλα βουλευματα*). For my older son and daughter perished in one day, of the same disease. But thou (Daphnis) by the Providence of the gods wert saved" (*σὺ δὲ προνοίᾳ θεῶν ἐσώθης*). The *evil*—the death of the older children—is ascribed to Fortune; the *good*—the saving of Daphnis—to Providence. Both, being outside the action of the story—(part of *τὰ ἔξω τοῦ δράματος*), form no exception to the rule of Eros within it. Of this passage, which Amyot translates plainly, Day makes a hash. For the rest, it may be said, his paraphrase gives to Fortune much more scope than either the Greek, or his original Amyot, will warrant. (So at Da, pp. 98, 99, 151, 153, 153-4,—none of which are in Amyot or in the Greek.)



of its pastoral theme as well as of the dominion of Eros. Just as the pastoral element is wanting in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, so is the element of travel wanting in Longus. His lovers remain quietly in their home fields: they do not "look for trouble," like the errant Theagenes and Chariclea and Clitophon and Leucippe, but let trouble come to them, if come it must. And the incursions of pirates and other marauders have for Daphnis and Chloe no consequences beyond temporary distress; unlike the corresponding incidents in the other Romances, they do not put the lovers in any new situation or set afoot any fresh train of adventures. After each interruption the pastoral goes on as peacefully as before; indeed the interruptions serve an artistic purpose, in deepening by contrast the charm of the quiet life.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, this minimizing of the control of Fortune carries with it a rather remarkable result: In "Daphnis and Chloe" causation resumes its sway in a measure quite unknown to Heliodorus or Achilles Tatius. Longus works out carefully even minor incidents like the admission of Daphnis to Dryas's cottage (III. vi-vii): Daphnis would not have been admitted if Dryas had not come out; Dryas would not have come out if a sheep-dog that had stolen a piece of meat had not run out with it. So of the bath of Daphnis, led up to by a double line of causes (I. xii-xii); which may be illustrated thus:

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Croiset, "Hist. de la Litt. Grecque," V. 800.



Daphnis falls into the pit, is soiled, and must bathe.

The events in the two converging lines get under way simultaneously but independently; the train is laid; and Eros touches it off. So that this chain of causes is particularly notable; for it is the elaborate means by which Eros contrives to start the children upon their love-adventure. Daphnis's bath, it will be remembered, is what kindled love in Chloe. We have here, then, the initial impulse of the tale, given not by Fortune, but by Love employing natural causes.

For one of his "retarding moments," the war between Mitylene and Methymne (II. xiii-xvii, xix), Longus employs the same device again, and still more elaborately. And if the larger scale of this event—an event not pastoral but political—does not in itself excuse his somewhat over-studied construction, let his excuse be that he saved Shakespeare trouble (see *post*, pp. 453-455). After all, too, the result is quite plausible.

## A.

Countryman breaks the old rope from which was hung his grape-crushing stone.



He steals rope from Methymnaeans' boat.



Methymnaeans use osier to moor boat.

## B.

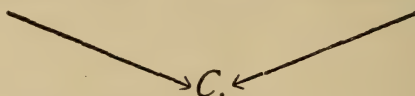
Methymnaeans' hunting makes a great noise.



Daphnis's goats, frightened from their pasture, are driven down to the seashore.



Finding no food there, they gnaw the osier through.



## C.

The boat floats away.



The Methymnaeans beat Daphnis, but are themselves beaten.



They incite their city to make war on Mitylene.

Such is the part played by Fortune in the plot of the three chief Greek Romances. All-powerful in Achilles Tatius, she is subordinated to Providence in Heliodorus, and in Longus, under the limitations of the pastoral theme, gives way almost wholly to the sway of Eros and of ordinary causation. In general, her control is evidenced by the prominence of the element of travel and adventure, and is naturally at its minimum in the pastoral, where travel and adventure are wanting.—There remains for discussion the second principal ingredient of the plot of these Romances—the element of Love.



It need scarcely be said that love in the Greek Romances is sensual love. The whole *genre* is saved from being a tribute to "the great goddess Aselgeia" not by any exalted conception of love itself, but by the shifting of a large portion of interest and emphasis away from love altogether. Such dignity as these love-stories possess is a dignity for the most part alien to the theme of love. What are its sources?

A feature common to the Romances is the preservation of the heroine's chastity to the end of the story. Chariclea is of a type essentially celibate, is by principle and inclination opposed to marriage (II. xxiii; U 73-4), and yields to her overmastering passion for Theagenes (III. vii, xix; IV. iv, v, vii, x, xi) only so far as to consent to an ultimate union with him under the formal auspices predicted by the oracle (II. xxxv). This engagement both she and Theagenes keep throughout their trials;—trials which in Chariclea's case indeed are most respectable,<sup>9</sup> as all her lovers—the Tyrian ship captain (V. xix), the pirate Trachinus (V. xxviii), the chivalrous bandit-chief Thyamis (I. xix-xxi), and even the treacherous Achaemenes (VIII. xxiii) offer her marriage. Her very beauty has about it something sacred and virginal

<sup>9</sup> *Diogène*: Savez vous combien elle (i. e., *Mandane*, in "Le Grand Cyrus") a été enlevée de fois? *Pluton*: Où veux tu que je l'aille chercher? *Diogène*: Huit fois. *Minos*: Voilà une beauté qui a passé par bien de mains. *Diogène*: Cela est vrai: Mais tous ses ravisseurs étaient les scélérats du monde les plus vertueux. Assurément ils n'ont pas osé lui toucher. *Pluton*: J'en doute. (Boileau, "Les Héros de Roman," ed. Crane, p. 182.)

(I. ii, iv); and, at the close of the story, her beauty and her chastity together are vindicated with *éclat* by the ordeal which she so triumphantly undergoes (X. ix). Theagenes too resists both the wooing of Arsace and the tortures that she inflicts upon him, and of course keeps inviolate his oath to respect Chariclea.

But all this, exalted and laudable though it be, is not so much love in our sense of the word as abstention from love in their sense of the word. In all of it there is no sign that love is anything but physical desire, of which the lovers are simply postponing the satisfaction. Their love at first sight is, obviously, not evolved from any previous acquaintance, or based upon any ripening friendship.<sup>10</sup> In "Daphnis and Chloe" indeed the love is quite frankly sensual, occasioned in the one lover by a kiss, in the other by the softness of Daphnis's body; in "Clitophon and Leucippe" there is a period of courtship to be sure, ending in—what?—the rendezvous. Even the lofty-minded Theagenes and Chariclea are overcome *instantly* by this static undeveloping passion of theirs. Are they really congenial? Are their tastes alike, or complementary, or opposite? Would they laugh at the same things, and weep at the same things? Who knows?—There is not a hint of spiritual companionship between them; not a hint that the character of each is to be rounded out by that of the other; not a hint that theirs is to be a "marriage of true minds."—So much by way of *caveat*; for

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Koerting, *op. cit.*, I, p. 30.

there is danger of mistaking the rarefied atmosphere, the lofty speeches, and the grandiose framework of the "Æthiopica" for something that they are not.<sup>11</sup>

There is no such danger in the case of Achilles Tatius. In the actual preservation and vindication of her maidenhood Leucippe resembles Chariclea, but there the resemblance ceases. In fact, like Mlle. de Maupin, Leucippe has retained rather a physical than a moral virginity. She was quite ready to yield to Clitophon before their flight; and it is only *ex post facto* that this wanton elopement of theirs, brought about by a carnal passion which they would have unthinkingly satisfied, gains divine sanction from the interest taken in it by Artemis and Aphrodite (IV. i) and thenceforth becomes a trial of chastity. But even had Leucippe entered upon her adventures pure in heart, these are of such a gross and revolting nature, they involve so much physical and moral exposure, that Artemis herself could hardly have come through them untainted. The brigands and the false belly (III. xv), which, with all its loathsomeness, Leucippe keeps on her body until nightfall (III. xviii); Charmides (IV. ix); Gorgias (IV. xv), and Leucippe's unseemly fit (IV. ix); Chaereas and his pirates, and the poor butchered harlot (V. vii; VIII. xvi); Sosthenes and Thersander and *their* tender mercies (VI. *passim*):—what a set! Unfortunate as Leucippe is, one can but feel that she is akin to those errant dames who,

<sup>11</sup> De Salverte ("Le Roman dans la Grèce Ancienne," pp. 382-4) has not escaped this danger.



to their regret, become "the Helen of so many Parises"<sup>12</sup> that their pristine bloom is gone.

Chloe, like the others, reaches the end of the story still a maid; but, radically as Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius differ in their treatment of chastity, Longus differs still more radically from both together. For whereas they both enlist the reader's interest in favor of the heroine's efforts to preserve her maidenhood, Longus enlists the reader's interest in favor of his heroine's efforts to lose hers. At least,—we say—if, in the other romances, love is not spiritual but fleshly—at least, it is not indulged; and what might have been an orgy is turned into a trial of chastity. But what can possibly make this romance other than salacious? It may be admitted at once that "Daphnis and Chloe" does not wholly escape the charge. What almost saves it is the innocence and the inexperience of the children,<sup>13</sup> together with the charm of the country, and of country doings, and of the procession of the seasons. But the point of the story still remains in the piquancy of the children's experiments,—a piquancy heightened by this very simplicity, this very naïveté of theirs, and by the charm of their surroundings. If the fruit they are trying to pluck were not fruit that the reader knows to be generally regarded as forbidden, where—so we may fancy the sophist asking—where would

<sup>12</sup> "Elle eût regret d'être l'Hélène

D'un si grand nombre de Paris."—La Fontaine, "La Fiancée du Roi de Garbe."

<sup>13</sup> Cf. F. Jacobs, *Einleitung* to his translation of "D. and C.," pp. 11-12.

be the fun in watching them? Longus with all his art did not,—or rather did not try!—to take his emphasis off the teasing succession of Daphnis and Chloe's attempts, and place it wholly or even preponderantly<sup>14</sup> upon their idyllic simplicity, their idyllic environment. *They* are simple enough, but *we* are not; and Longus knows it. One reader at least confesses to a feeling of distinct relief when Daphnis has had his lesson, and when Chloe is no longer in the uncertain care of his ignorance but in the more trustworthy care of his knowledge and his considerateness (III. xx). As Señor Menéndez y Pelayo says,<sup>15</sup> "this is neither the true and sacred antiquity, nor the grace and simplicity, of the young world, but rather a pretty painting on a fan, recalling those of France in the eighteenth century." In a word,—though Daphnis and Chloe are entirely unsophisticated, Longus is sophisticated through and through.

All this is but to say that the Greek Romancers could not jump off their shadow, and that love in their works is not modern love. At the same time it ought not to be overlooked that love in the Greek Romances is a genuine attachment, capable of waiting, of constancy, and of sacrifice. Furthermore, as has often been remarked, both the love and the adventure are such as to take women out of the seclusion of the *gynæceum* and make them for a while the companions—sometimes even the leaders—of the men they are

<sup>14</sup> As Raphael Collin has done in his charming illustrations.

<sup>15</sup> "Orígenes de la Novela," I, Introduccion, p. x.

to marry. So much dignity the element of love in the Greek Romances must be allowed to possess; but apart from this, the "love-interest" is nowhere based upon a sufficiently exalted conception of love, or upon a sufficiently sound "psychology," or upon a sufficiently profound understanding of human character, to be in itself ennobled.

One apparent exception is found—of all places—joined to the romance of the gross-minded Achilles Tatius. It is not too much, I think, to say that the *novella* of Callisthenes and Calligone (II. xiii–xviii; VIII. xvii–xix) anticipates chivalry. Not only does Callisthenes offer marriage to his captive mistress, and scrupulously respect her honor—all without being bound by any oath, or actuated by a regard for the designs of a delaying Providence; but he professes himself her slave (Δούλον οὖν με σεαυτῆς ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας νόμιζε—VIII. xvii); and, most significant of all, he is actually transformed in character by love. From an insolent, evil-mannered profligate, he becomes a public-spirited citizen, an irreproachable soldier, and a pattern of courtesy. As far as I am aware, this is the first occurrence in literature of the *motif* of transformation of character by love. How this episode, so suggestive of later fiction, got into "Clitophon and Leucippe," I cannot attempt to say. It is connected with the main plot by only the slenderest of threads, and the main action is in any case wholly unaffected by the chivalrous nature of Callisthenes's love. And because of its



purely episodic character, this *novella* need not modify what has been said about the general nature of love in the Greek Romances.

The episode of Cnemon, in the "*Æthiopica*" (I. ix–xvii; II. viii–ix; VI. ii, vii, viii), is much more in Achilles Tatius's vein. Indeed, Cnemon's *novella* and the *novella* of Callisthenes and Calligone might well be interchanged, with a distinct gain in unity of tone for each of the romances in which they occur. For while Achilles Tatius is hardly recognizable in the high-flown sentiments and chivalrous conduct of Callisthenes, which seem much more in character with Heliodorus, just as little is Heliodorus recognizable in the lewd stepmother, the perfidious slaves and dancing-girls, the *qui pro quo* in the dark, and the general atmosphere of low intrigue and chicanery, that prevail in Cnemon's story. These are much more consonant with the main plot of Achilles Tatius. On the other hand, if we would find in Achilles Tatius an episode entirely in harmony with his normal attitude, we need only turn to the *dubbio* at the end of Book II, where Clinias, who has already signalized himself by an invective against women (I. viii), finds a like-minded friend to maintain against Clitophon the rival merit of boys. The *débat* on this subject,—a commonplace of late Greek literature<sup>16</sup>—gains particular point and significance here because it rests upon a Platonic original—viz., the distinction ("*Symposium*,"

<sup>16</sup> Salverte, pp. 308–9; Müller-Christ VII, 850. And cf. "*Daphnis and Chloe*," IV. xvii; Plutarch, "*Amatorius*," *passim*.

180) between earthly and heavenly beauty. Of this it is an impudent parody. Whereas Plato's distinction is between sensual and spiritual love, the dispute in Achilles Tatius is merely between two varieties of sensual love, and only seeks to determine which is the more voluptuous. In the hands of an Achilles Tatius, even Platonism<sup>17</sup> is debased to vile uses.

The present discussion of the place of love in the plot of the Greek Romances may be closed with a note of some of their anticipations of the treatment of love in later literature. First of these is the worship of the kiss. Longus and Achilles Tatius, but especially the latter, are devotees of the kiss, and celebrate it almost as persistently and variously as do Marino or Johannes Secundus. Chloë's kiss is the prize of the shepherd's contest, and the proximate cause of Daphnis's love (I. xvii); Daphnis gains kisses at second hand by touching with his lips the pipe already touched by Chloë's (I. xxiv) and by drinking from the same place on the rim of the cup (III. viii).<sup>18</sup> The latter endearment is also practiced by Clitophon and Leucippe (II. ix);

<sup>17</sup> Except a passage in Longus (II. vii), "Love gives wings to the soul" (ὁ Ἔρως ... τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναπτεροῖ; cf. "Phaedrus," 246 ff), I recall little else resembling Platonic love-doctrine in the Greek Romances.—The place where Clitophon tells his story—the bank of a stream under a plane-tree—recalls the opening of the "Phaedrus." The "Phaedrus" (251, 255 G) and the "Cratylus" (420), also contain the theory that love flows into the soul through the eye (cf. *post.* p. 135). (The last two citations are from Stravoskiadis.)

<sup>18</sup> So in Ovid, "Art. Am." I. 575 (cited B 310 n.); cf. also Ben Jonson's "Drink to me only with thine eyes," from Philostratus.

the kiss is praised to the skies at II. viii and IV. viii; and at II. vii occurs Clitophon's celebrated stratagem to gain a kiss—a stratagem imitated in Tasso's "Aminta" (I. ii) and in D'Urfé.<sup>19</sup> Even Theagenes, at the end of his race at Delphi, "ranne to Cariclia and of purpose fell into her lap, as though he could not stay him selfe: and when hee had taken the garland, I saw well enough that he kissed her hande. O happy turne, that he got the victorie, and kissed her too" (U 101; IV. iv).

Like much else that "ain't so," the physics or physiology of love has been pretty well worked out, and reduced to a systematic pseudo-science, by the time of the Greek Romancers. Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius are both certain that love enters the heart through the eye, "for seeing that of all our other pores and senses, sight is capable of most mutations, and the hottest, it must needs receive such infections as are about it, and with a hote spirite entertaine the changes of love." (U 87; "T. & C.," III. vii; cf. "Phaedrus" 250 on the keenness of sight, and on the theory of the *εἶδωλον*). This explains love at first sight ("T. & C.," III. v; "A. T.," I. iv). In Achilles Tatius, the theory is not that of a "spirite" (*πνεῦμα*) as in Heliodorus, but that of an image or simulacrum (*εἶδωλον*) of the beloved, as at "A. T.," I. ix; V. xiii. Both theories survive through the Middle Ages into the Renaissance.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> As to D'Urfé, Dunlop's "History of Fiction," I. 40.

<sup>20</sup> The "spirit"-theory, for instance, in the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*, and in Dante; the "eidolon"-theory, in the *concettismo* resting upon "babies in the eyes"; e. g., in Donne.



The symptoms of love—"the rowlinge of his eies, and soudaine sighing without cause" (U 88); "Cariclia mad almost" (Gloss, U 106); the blushing and paling (A. T., II. vi); fasting ("D. & C.," X. vii; "A. T.," I. v; V. xiii); vigils ("A. T.," I. vii; "D. & C.," I. xiii; II. vii); calling upon the beloved's name ("T. & C.," VIII. vi); and the like, in their frequent repetition in almost the same terms, give evidence of having been conventionalized into something like a Code of Love. And the presence in Achilles Tatius of two pretty fully developed *Artes Amatoriae* (I. ix; II. iv), setting forth the lover's proper procedure, recalls the fact that it was upon Ovid's "Art of Love" that the mediaeval Code grew up. The ancient world had evidently accumulated a considerable body of doctrine on this subject; and Longus in his *Procœmium* even professes a didactic purpose: his book, he says, "will refresh the memory of him who has loved; and him who has not loved, it will instruct."

Love, then, as an element of plot, receives rather complex treatment from the Greek Romancers. Upon a basis of physical attraction they build a most elaborate, a most ornate superstructure, which more or less conceals its own foundation. To vary the figure: If some one like the dreamer in the *Romaunt of the Rose* were to seek audience of this Love, he would behold first, crowding round their master so as quite to hide him, a group of his attendants,—True-Chastity and Doubtful-Chastity, and Long-Waiting, and Constancy, and Dame Adventure. If

he persisted in making his way through this outer circle, he would next encounter Idyllic-Description, and Platonism-Counterfeit, and Naïve Experiment, and La Belle Dame Émancipée; My Lord Episode arm-in-arm with Sir Chivalry-Anticipate and with the prelatical Ordonnance Divine; Dr. Physiologie d'Amour, body-physician to the winged boy; the Sire Art d'Aimer, Grand Chamberlain in charge of his court-etiquette, and Dom Intrigue, his barber and confessor; and others too—all still trying to hide their sovereign's nakedness. But let the curious one penetrate to the presence. There—there is Love himself—there is the Prince:—a large, handsome, stout, rather stupid-looking youth;—vigorous, but somewhat languid with kisses; and not caring at all whether his courtiers hide him or not. And is this the great God of Love? It must be so; there are his bow and arrows, and quiver and flambeau—'But'—the dreamer will exclaim—'why,—where are his *wings?*' Dreamer, let me tell thee: he hasn't any!

From the foregoing, it may be inferred, and rightly, that the Greek Romances give to *plot*—the mere happening of things—a place much more important than they give to character. This fact it is, indeed, which makes them romances at all rather than novels. Not the forces of personality, but the outward forces, Providence, or Fortune, keep the story alive. In a typical passage (ante, p. 118) it has been seen how the personages shift upon the shoulders of Fortune the responsibility for their own acts, and

the blame for the troubles which these acts have caused. There is nowhere the slightest hint<sup>21</sup> that the misadventures of Clitophon and Leucippe are the punishment, nay even the result, of their own undutifulness. Quite the contrary; these misadventures purport to be due to a Fortune that has no connection whatever with the character of the sufferers. If the author had observed any such connection, we may be sure he would not have spared us a sermon upon it; for, as we shall see, moralizing has no terrors for Achilles Tatius. But it lies well within the legitimate field of a romancer to signalize the connection quite artistically, without preaching or any artificial insistence upon "poetic justice." In neither the one way nor the other, neither inartistically nor artistically, does Achilles Tatius offer anything on the subject. The moral connections between things—it is precisely these which he everywhere relaxes, or fails to observe at all; character counts for as little as may be; and each person is a pawn in a game played by non-human powers,—a bit of matter, with a consciousness incidentally attached, to be acted upon by outward forces.

The result is that out of that incidental consciousness, despite the romancer's want of interest in character, certain characters do after all get themselves created. They are for the most part rather despicable, because for the most part engaged either in giving in to Fortune, or in wriggling and squirming out of the situations

<sup>21</sup> Dunlop to the contrary notwithstanding (I. 42).



in which Fortune has placed them. They are mostly of a timorous, or of a pliant deceitful type. Cnemon is an arrant coward: he is afraid of the corpse of Thisbe ("T. & C.," II. v-vi), afraid of Thermuthis (II. xviii), afraid of the dark (II. xx), afraid of a crocodile (VI. i) and simply panic-stricken when he overhears somebody calling herself Thisbe (V. ii-iii). Daphnis is utterly incapable of courage: he resists none of the attacks made upon him or upon Chloe, but, if possible, hides till the trouble is over (II. xx); and when Lampis has carried off Chloe, goes to the garden and wails instead of pursuing (IV. xxviii).

In the policy of wriggling, Calasiris and Chariclea are adepts. Chariclea succeeds so well in fooling her successive suitors with promises, that Calasiris actually rallies her upon her skill in deceit (VI. ix). But he himself—partly responsible indeed for her stratagems—is an arch-trickster.<sup>22</sup> He puts off the Tyrian merchant with fair words (V. xx); he sets the pirates by the ears (V. xxxviii-xxx); instead of gaining Chariclea's confidence by telling her that he knows she is in love, he goes through the mumery of an exorcism (IV. iv); he sets the Delphians on a false trail (IV. xix); wishing to redeem Chariclea from Nausicles, he feigns to get from the ashes on the altar, as if from the gods themselves, the amethyst ring which he offers (V. xiii). The last three are cases of wholly gratuitous deceit: apparently Calasiris

<sup>22</sup> On the tradition connecting this dissimulation with the priestly character, see Schwartz, pp. 17-19.

would rather lie than tell the truth. So it is with his pupil Chariclea. On no other supposition can the reader account for her sly and underhand conduct in the *dénouement*. Her own identity has been established; she has been saved from the sacrifice; she is princess of Ethiopia: all that remains for her to do is, one would think, to claim Theagenes as her husband, and thus save him too. But she contrives "for ultimate advantage to check her frenzied feelings, so as to wind her way covertly to the end she had in view" (X. xix). What *is* the end that she can better gain by dissimulation than by frankness? Why should she "by indirection find direction out?" Her self-contradictory lies and dark sayings drive her father to distraction: "She called him her brother that was not so. When she was asked who this straunger was, she answered shee knew him not: then sought she to save him as her friend, whom shee knewe not: which when it was denied her, she besought mee that shee might kill him as her most enemy. When this could not be graunted her, because it was lawfull for none to do it, but such a one as had a husband, shee said that shee was married, and named not to whome. How can shee have a husband, whom the fire declared had never to do with her? . . . I never saw any but she, that made the same man her frend and enemie in one minute of an houre, and fained to have a brother and husband, which never was so" (U 275-6; X. xxii).

The truth seems to be that Heliodorus's own

love for rhetorical contradictions, for the bizarre and the paradoxical,<sup>23</sup> has led *him* to give his heroine this utterly false motivation. Let us not then blame Chariclea too severely for her final bit of dissimulation. But what can extenuate her advice to Theagenes (VII. xviii, xxi, xxv), at first to feign compliance with the wishes of Arsace, and, later, to comply with them in very deed? It is tonic to hear his reply. "Be sure I cannot faine any such thing: for to say and do unhonest thinges, are both almost alike dishonest. . . . If I must suffer any thing, as well fortune, as also the constant opinion of my mind, have inured me nowe many times to take whatever shall happen" (U 197; VII. xxi). But though he resists, to the point of suffering torture, yet he does at length feign this very compliance that he has so scorned; and he equivocates too, justifying the breach of Arsace's promise to Achæmenes, by the quibble that she had promised not "Chariclea" but "Theagenes's sister"!—as if she had promised a name and not a person (VII. xxvi).

So in "Daphnis and Chloe" Dorco having helped Daphnis and his goat out of the pit, the children give him the goat as a reward, "and meant to tell those at home, if any one inquired, that there had been an incursion of wolves" (I. xii). And again (IV. x) Astylus, to shield Lamón from blame for the destruction of the garden, promises to lay the blame on his horse.—Two gratuitous lies.

<sup>23</sup> Reinforced by his wish to delay the dénouement, and attribute it to the arrival of Charicles. (See *ante*, pp. 112-113, 116.)



In Achilles Tatius, all men, and women too, are liars. Leucippe cunningly mixes truth with untruth in her reply to her mother. "My virginity is safe; *and* I haven't the ghost of a notion who was in my bedroom" (II. xxv). Clitophon and Satyrus lie gratuitously to the porter (II. xxvi). Satyrus has gained Leucippe's new maid by feigning love (II. xxxi). Menelaus, who might be supposed to have better taste than to play conjurer's tricks at the moment when Leucippe has come back from the grave, concocts an invocation of Hecate, just to scare Clitophon<sup>24</sup> (III. xviii). Menelaus promises to help Charmides win Leucippe, but at once bears the tale to Clitophon, and together they resolve to deceive Charmides (IV. vi). Clitophon, to avoid the consummation of his marriage with Melitta, feigns illness, swears that he wishes to comply but cannot, and puts her off with false promises (V. xxi): "flattered her, for fancie her I could not." Melitta devises a stratagem to enable her doorkeeper to "save face"—a stratagem quite needless, inasmuch as she sends him out of the way, and we never hear of him again (VI. ii). Her story to her husband (VI. viii-xi), like Leucippe's reply to her mother, is most cunningly compounded of truth and lies, in the hope that the former will gain credence for the latter.—They are all tarred with the same brush. They all cringe and comply, and wriggle and twist,—often just for the fun of it. It is a habit they

<sup>24</sup> Cf. "T. & C.," V. ii-iii, where Chariclea calls herself Thisbe, in mere silliness, just because the author wants to give Cnemon a fright.

have fallen into as a result of regarding themselves, and of being regarded by their authors, in the "bony light" of playthings of chance.

"Character," says Aristotle (Poet., VI. 17), "is that which reveals moral purpose, showing what kind of things a man chooses or avoids."—But what if a man choose or avoid nothing, but only take what comes, and exhibit his sentiments about it? "Speeches, therefore," Aristotle goes on, ('and'—we may add—'authors' comments and analyses') "which do not make manifest such choice or avoidance, or in which the speaker does not choose or avoid anything, are not expressive of character." Now in the Greek Romances, the speeches, and the author's comments upon them, and analyses of the feelings that accompany them, are largely of this sort: they reveal no *ethos*. What they do is rather to express what someone, given a situation, might appropriately say. It was a well-established exercise in school-rhetoric to frame precisely such speeches—"What sort of things Niobe would say,' 'What Menoeceus the patriotic suicide,' 'What Cassandra at sight of the horse,' etc.";<sup>25</sup> and we know that the taste for these hypothetical speeches lasted through the Middle Ages on into the Renaissance, where it produced and welcomed such collections as "Silvayn's Orator."

<sup>25</sup> Saintsbury, "Hist of Crit.," I. 95. In the Greek Anthology, Book IX, there are thirty epigrams (Nos. 451-480) in this kind; e. g. (451) *Τίνας ἀν εἴποι λόγους πρὸς Πρόκνην τὴν ἀδελφὴν Φιλομήλην*. The rubric of Book IX is ἈΡΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΔΕΙΚΤΙΚΩΝ ἘΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ—showing that this sort of thing was regarded as part of the rhetoric of display.

The late Greek rhetoricians called this exercise *Ethopoieia*,—inappropriately, for, as we have seen, it expresses not character so much as the emotion appropriate to a “posited” situation—that is, to use Aristotle’s terminology again, not *ῆθος* but *πάθος*. “May the Deity grant me” prays the author of “Daphnis and Chloe” (Pro-cemium *ad fin.*), “May the Deity grant me, undisturbed myself, to describe the emotions of others.” The interest of the rhetoricians who wrote the Greek Romances is not in the ethical choices and avoidances of life (remember again Achilles Tatius’s weakness in dealing with the crucial moment of choice) so much as in sentiment or emotion, with the rhetorical expression of it in set speeches, and the sophistical accounting for it in comment and analysis.

Hence the long accounts of Daphnis and Chloe’s “symptoms”—of precisely how they felt when they fell in love, and precisely how each soliloquized in rhetorical antitheses (I. xiii, xiv; xvii, xviii); and the repetition by Philetas of the symptoms of love (II. vii). Hence the corresponding accounts of Theagenes’s symptoms (III. v, x, xviii), of Chariclea’s (III. v, vii, xix; IV. iii, vi, vii, x, xi) and of Clitophon’s (I. vi). So, at “A. T.,” III. iv, we are instructed as to the *πάθος* of a lingering death by drowning; at III. xi and VII. iv we have a half physiological, half-psychological account of the *πάθος* of excessive grief, and of why it is tearless; at VII. vii, we learn precisely how the tears of beauty operate upon a sensitive soul like Thersander’s; and at



VI. xix and VII. i we are asked to follow that same "schöne Seele" through its fluctuations of rage, grief, deliberation and desire. Twaddle!

Perhaps even shallower, both in morals and in psychology, is the rhetorical show-piece to which we are treated by way of an analysis of Leucippe's emotions under her mother's reproof (II. xxix). As if the feelings of shame, sorrow, and anger were necessarily occasioned by some other person's words, and never by the conscience itself! Or—granted that another's words occasioned them—as if they never convicted one of his own sin, so that no amount of "back-talk" would cure them! This is the view of the mere sophist, with whom *words* count for everything. Again, this is a mere show-piece in that the *analysis* of Leucippe's state of mind is needless—nothing being made of its ingredients. If for instance shame had tended to make her do one thing, and anger another, and we had been shown how her action was due to one or the other of these emotions, or to some composite of them—then the analysis might have been justified. As it stands, it is a piece of sentimentalizing for sentimentalizing's sake.

Clitophon's apostrophe at Leucippe's coffin (III. xvi) and his lament over the headless body supposed to be hers (V. vii) are inconceivable except as exercises in rhetoric,—pieces of *ethopoieia* or *pathopoieia*, or not even that. For neither is in any sense an outburst of grief. In both alike, the purpose seems to be, not to express the sorrow of a bereaved lover, but to find anti-

thetical things that may be said about the bizarre physical circumstances of Leucippe's death,—as that the sea possesses her head and Clitophon her trunk, or that one part of her is buried in the coffin and the other part in the brigands!<sup>26</sup>—The artifice defeats its own purpose; the emotion is lost in a crackle of antithesis, and the reader is merely disgusted.

But to leave speeches and analyses of emotion, and to return to character as a whole:—it will be useful to examine some of the personages and types which issue from the rhetorical conception of character just set forth, or which the romancer found at hand already adapted to his superficial treatment. A synthesis of the character of Clitophon proves to be of special interest. His tendency to blame Fortune for his troubles has been observed (*ante*, p. 118); and from the garish superficiality of his grief (*ante*, p. 145) may be argued the shallowness of his feelings in general. This mere sentimentality is nowhere more evident than in the passage where he really does show his only bit of decent filial feeling. When he hears that his father is on the way to Alexandria (V. xi) he exclaims: "With what face can I look upon him,—I who ran away so shamefully, and who corrupted the charge he had received from his brother?"<sup>27</sup> Does the reader look for an act of real piety from this youth who so humbly acknowledges his former impiety? Surely this now dutiful son

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *post*, p. 220.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. VIII. iv, where he is ashamed to face Leucippe's father.

will see that he *must* face his father and make atonement? Well, the outcome is: "I *can't* face him. I'll run away. In fact, I'll run away with the widow."—Here again, at this second of his great choices, Clitophon has "caved in," lamentably.

Clitophon possesses physical courage when no moral question is involved, but he is wholly unsupported by a good conscience. He rushes unarmed into the midst of the pirates who are carrying off Leucippe (V. vii); but he allows Thersander to beat him *ad lib.*, not only after his offense with Melitta, when he has richly deserved his beating, but even before his offense, when his sense of righteousness ought to have made him bold despite appearances (V. xxiii). When Leucippe's father punches his head (VII. xiv) he not only does not resist, but actually offers himself to his assailant. Here again the apparent cowardice may be explained away as due to reverence for Sostratus's gray hairs, and to Clitophon's feeling that he really has wronged Leucippe's father.—But what shall be said of a hero who is placed no less than three times in a position where his apparent cowardice needs to be explained away at all? He really is a trifle *too* abject, and, if he gets more kicks than half-pence, certainly invites them. The height of his absurdity is reached when Thersander, having given him a bloody nose, happens to hit Clitophon's teeth and wound his own hand, so that, as Clitophon triumphantly narrates (VIII. i), "My teeth avenged the injury done to my nose." *Risum teneatis, amici?*



What of his conduct towards Leucippe and towards Melitta? The abduction of Calligone (II. xviii), rendering impossible the marriage between her and Clitophon, ought, one would suppose, to open the way for him to ask Leucippe in marriage. Clitophon himself has thought of his engagement to Calligone as an obstacle to a marriage with Leucippe, and has thus by the plainest implication indicated that marriage was what he wished (I. xi). Yet no sooner is the obstacle removed than he at once (II. xix) caps his dishonorable intrigue by persuading Leucippe to give him the assignation in her room. Granted that assignation, elopement follows, naturally if not inevitably; for the lover would in all probability have been discovered, and in any case Leucippe's mother would have plagued the life out of her. But—why the assignation at all? Clitophon, though of course he could not have known that the letter offering him Leucippe's hand was at that very moment on the way, just as certainly had no reason to suppose that Leucippe's hand would be refused him. However, we know by this time what to expect of a Clitophon.

His *ethos* in this affair, though, is actually less unmotivated, or less perverted in its motivation, if possible, than his *ethos* towards Melitta. As long as both Leucippe and Thersander are believed to be dead, as long as Clitophon is supposed to be a widower and Melitta a widow, and both together lawfully husband and wife,—as long, that is to say, as Clitophon might, in right

feeling and right morals, have been justified in yielding to Melitta—, just so long does he *refuse* to yield; alleging arguments about the sacredness of his bond to the dead Leucippe, his horror of desecrating her tomb the sea; and the laws of ocean itself enjoining chastity (V. xiv-xvi). Then Leucippe is found, and we hear (V. xxi) that Clitophon feels he cannot even look at another woman; and then Thersander reappears too; and it becomes plain, not only that Clitophon is a married man, but that Melitta is a married woman; so that now any surrender on either part would indeed be a double adultery. Well—this is precisely when he does yield (V. xxvii).<sup>28</sup> And later, this perversion of all decent feeling and morals is made the very essence of the quibble whereby the guilty pair are *saved*:—viz. that they had not offended *during Thersander's absence* (VIII. xi).

The fact is that Achilles Tatius is simply incapable of depicting, we will not say lofty, but reasonably well-behaved character, even in his hero and his heroine. He is far more at home among the low characters whom he gets from the "New" Attic and the Roman comedy, and whom he hands over to the *fabliau*, and to Renaissance comedy and *novella*:—his Satyrus and Clio, intriguing servants; his Sosthenes, a pimping slave; his Thersander, a husband not only jealous, but violent and foolish, and therefore, as by a law of nature, cuckolded and fooled to the top of his

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Passow, in Ersch und Gruber's "Encyclopaedie," I, p. 304, quoted by Jacobs, "Prolegomena" to his edition of Achilles Tatius, pp. xiii, xvi.

bent. It is significant of the viciousness of Achilles Tatius's method, however, that he seeks to give to even this great oaf a certain sentimental interest, by making him weep sympathetic tears for Leucippe, and by tracing his delicate motives for weeping (VI. vii). But all is vain; Thersander puts the capstone to his folly when he himself frames his challenge with the qualification "during my absence" (VIII. xi); and so he is fully stultified, *e al fine rimase beffato e schernito*.

Critics have often remarked that in the Greek romances the women are superior to the men, both in character as persons and in characterization as personages. The remark is, on the whole, justified. Its exact value may be tested by a comparison of the "best" of the heroes, Theagenes, with the "best" of the heroines, Chariclea, and by a concluding examination of the characters of Leucippe and Melitta.

Theagenes possesses active courage, of a theatrical, spectacular sort. He is ready to fight, and when he fights he wins: witness his victory over the pirate Pelorus (V. xxxii) and over the champion wrestler (X. xxx-xxxii). He resists the torture, and continually calls upon Chariclea, and *wishes that she may hear of his fortitude* (VIII. vi). About to be sacrificed, he performs astonishing feats of strength and address, with a smiling countenance,—and—*before numerous spectators* (X. xxviii-xxx). Nor is he without moral fortitude (cf. *ante*, p. 141). Let not his willingness to commit suicide (II. iv-v) be imputed to



him for cowardice; it was a pagan courage. But evidence it certainly is of the *kind* of courage he possesses—his total lack of that fundamental cheerful toughness which characterizes the real hero. He is ready to “cave in,” not, like Clitophon, in moral ignominy, but in mere gloom and *Acedia*. What’s the use?—he asks, when, having escaped the brigands, he and Chariclea see themselves about to fall into the hands of Mithranes’s troops (V. vi–vii): “Let us yielde to fortune, and withstand no longer the violence which is ready to assault us, for what els shall we gaine, but fruitless travell, and banished life, and from time to time be scorned of the Goddes?” (U 129).

Of the pair, Chariclea is by far the tougher and more cheerful. That *virtù* of hers, so promptly exercised in fooling her suitors, is quite as prompt to encourage her lover. While he always takes the gloomiest view of the situation, she is always hopeful. In answer to his last-quoted bit of pessimism, she “allowed not all that he had said. Mary she thought that he justly accused fortune, but not that it was any point of wisdom to yielde themselves willingly into the enimies hands. . . . Measuring our hope of time to come, with experience of that which is past, howe wee have bene diversely preserved at such time as is not credible” (U 129; V. vii). She it is who keeps him reminded that they are under providential guidance. When they have been taken by Hydaspes, and Theagenes breaks his bitter jest about their golden chains (IX. ii), “Cariclia smiled . . . and brought him in remembrance of that

which the Gods had foreshewed unto them, and so put him into better hope" (U 234). She is a good fighter withal. The pirates having fallen out, "she when she sawe the battaile begonne, shotte out of the shippe in such sort as she never missed one" (U 151, V. xxxii). Her leadership is recognized by Theagenes quite early in their acquaintance. Upon leaving Delphi he swears not merely to respect her honor, but "that he would doo all thinges in such sorte, as Cariclia would have him" (U 117; IV. xviii). Accordingly she takes the initiative in telling their story to Thyamis (I. xxii); and she soothes and admonishes Theagenes (I. xxv-xxvii), who doesn't in the least understand her drift or relish her apparent willingness to marry the robber chief. When they are about to be taken by the troops of Mithranes, "after Theagenes had saide, Let us do as you will, she went before and he folowed her, as if he had bene tied to her" (U 129; V. vii, *καθάπερ ἐλκόμενος*—literally 'as if dragged!'). And, towards the end, despite his natural desire that she shall disclose her identity, it is her policy of concealment that prevails (IX. xxiii). Throughout the "Æthiopica," at least as far as concerns the action of the lovers, within the small scope left to them by Providence and Fortune, *dux femina facti*.<sup>20</sup>

No such function of leadership is assigned to Leucippe or to Melitta. As Leucippe is separated

<sup>20</sup> There are but two slips in the characterization and motivation of Chariclea: her calling herself *Thisbe* (V. iii; *ante*, p. 142 n. 24), and her overdone underhandedness in the dénouement (X. xix-xxii; *ante*, p. 140).

so much from Clitophon, and the story is told by him, we see comparatively little of her, and do not know, for instance, how she felt or conducted herself in those crises of her career—the apparent disembowelment and the apparent decapitation. From the fact, however, that her physical sufferings are far greater than his; from what we see of her ability to take care of herself by way of cheerful lying (I. xxv, xxviii); and from her seldom wasting words in vain lamentation; we may well infer the truth of the assertion that her hopefulness and cheer was habitual (VIII. xiii, *θάρος καὶ ἐλπίς ἡ συνήθης*). But Leucippe is no silent martyr of virtue; it is in expression that she is chiefly gifted. Her skill in mendacity has been noted; observe now the difference between her letter to Clitophon (V. xviii), with its direct, practical and forcible appeal, and his feeble piece of antithesis by way of answer (V. xx); finally, hear her scathing invective against Thersander and Sosthenes (VI. xii-xiii, xviii, xx-xxii). She fairly routs them; but not before that vitriolic tongue of hers has flayed them alive. This is one of the few really satisfactory scenes in Achilles Tatius.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Even in this, there is a slip in the characterization. Leucippe (VI. xviii) is made to say to Thersander: "You will not succeed with me unless you turn into Clitophon." Now she had just resolved (see her soliloquy VI. xvi) not to mention Clitophon; and even had she made no positive resolve, it was most unwise to mention him, as it could not fail to infuriate Thersander. To let the heathen rage was probably the *author's* purpose; but that does not justify him in making his heroine tactless.—This letting the heathen rage appears to be a convention of the Green Romances. The character of Greeks is represented as moderate and



But as a work of art no other character in the Greek Romances can compare with that of Melitta. Very lofty or edifying art, certainly, this is not, nor by any means a "perfect" or "ideal" character; but very fine and accomplished art it just as certainly is, and a character full-rounded, human, and sympathetic despite its sins. Next to Melitta the other personages—particularly Heliodorus's Arsace and Demaeneta, who outwardly are akin to her—pale into mere types that here and there emerge into individuality; Melitta is an individual first, last, and all the time. Her quip about the cenotaph and the cenogam (V. xiv), almost the first word we hear her speak, marks her at once as possessed of a sense of humor actually sufficient to enable her to joke about her own troubles; and, unlike Theagenes's bitter jest about his golden chains ("T. & C.," IX. ii) it really does stir laughter. This is the beginning of our sympathy with Melitta,—a sympathy confirmed in the racy scene with Leucippe (V. xii), where Melitta begs her own rival to make her a philtre for Clitophon. Upon Leucippe's malicious inquiry—'Is the gentleman your self-controlled, that of barbarians as subject to extremes of ungovernable passion—lust in women, e. g., Arsace; rage, or abject cowardice, or insolent foolhardiness in men; e. g., Thersander, Thermuthis, the Egyptian brigands ("A. T.," IV. xiv). (Cf. the Saracens in Mediaeval Romance and in the Italian Romantic Epic; and Herod in the Mystery Plays.) Such a survival of the old Hellenic prejudice against outsiders remains in interesting contrast with the new cosmopolitanism, exemplified, e. g., in Achilles Tatius's selection of Tyrians as his hero and heroine, or perhaps still more strikingly in the winning, by a Phoenician and a merchant at that, of a prize in the Pythian games ("T. & C.," IV. xvi).

husband?’—Melitta’s plain-spoken answer, showing how far Clitophon falls short of justifying the title, at the same time reveals to Leucippe that Clitophon has been faithful to *her*. On both sides, here, there is broad and yet fine comic characterization. But observe Melitta, *sola*, when she picks up Leucippe’s letter (V. xxiv) and gradually realizes the true state of affairs. The play of her feelings, the “conflicting emotions” that Achilles Tatius is so fond of attributing to his personages—these are here neither more nor less than the reality; for once, his analysis is entirely appropriate, perfectly measured, and quite free from superficial rhetoric. The reading of the letter occasions an emotional display the adequate portrayal of which would tax the powers of an accomplished comic actress. Evidently, this woman Melitta is not a mask; evidently, there is some emotional depth to her.

There is intellectual depth, too. That she should deceive her husband in word as well as deed is all a consistent portion of her character; and she plays the part to perfection,—her plausible story almost convincing Thersander himself (VI. xi). She withholds her knowledge of Leucippe’s disappearance, treasuring it up against the chance that Thersander may make an investigation. In that case, her servants, who had accompanied Leucippe to the country, would testify to Melitta’s zeal in caring for Clitophon’s wife, and in searching for her after her disappearance—the plain implication being that Melitta’s relations with Clitophon were innocent;

but that Leucippe had nevertheless been spirited away—a fact somewhat awkward for Thersander to explain! (VI. viii-x). The motivation here has been thoroughly studied out; it is complete; it gains our assent at once.<sup>31</sup>

But Melitta is more than just the cunning wife, *la rusée, la scaltrita*, of the *novella* and the *fabliau*;—she is a woman passionately in love, and capable of suffering. Her love for Clitophon, which in its beginning is innocent, and may therefore at first justly claim our sympathy, keeps that sympathy in its guilty end—almost excused (though unjustified) by the brutality of Thersander. At least, we say, I will not cast the first stone. For this woman indeed loved much and suffered much: in all her pleading with Clitophon the accent of truth is most poignant. This *passion* of hers—in both its senses—reaches its climax in her magnificent tirade to Clitophon in prison (V. xxv-xxvi)—a remarkable piece of emotional argument. Achilles Tatius's antitheses and climaxes, and the whole array of his rhetorical figures, find here their natural and proper place, and become really effective. The change of Melitta's mood, so clearly and truthfully portrayed; the impassioned eloquence and power of her pleadings; the real pathos of her situation; make the scene a masterpiece of serious, nay almost tragic, characterization. If anything could

<sup>31</sup> For similar skill in motivation, cf. the plan of introducing to Clitophon a pretended fellow-prisoner (VII. i). We may be sure that Thersander never thought this out. It savors of Sosthenes, with whom Thersander has just been conferring.



mitigate Clitophon's offense, it would be this splendid appeal from this splendid, this most real and humanly sinful woman. No—decidedly—she does not belong in the *novella* or in the *fabliau*, but rather in the works of Balzac or Flaubert. In the Greek Romances, certainly, with their shallow view of life, their dearth of materials for the creation of personality, their subjection to Fortune, and their voluntary enslavement to rhetoric, characterization could no further go.

At the end of this treatment of Plot and Character in the Greek Romances there may now be briefly discussed an element which partakes of both—the element of Humor. Wyttenbach<sup>32</sup> says: "Heliodorus argumento compositioneque ad heroicum carmen vel tragoediam accedit. . . . Achilles contra manet in quotidianæ vitæ lege ac consuetudine, et propior est comoediæ; et nonnunquam ad hilaritatem et festivitatem remittitur." The more these Romances are studied, the more evident becomes the justice of this remark. Heliodorus is indeed, both in substance and in structure, idealistic, heroic, epic, tragic; Achilles Tatius, realistic, everyday, pedestrian, often comic. And it is a fact that in "Clitophon and Leucippe" humor counts for much more than in the "Æthiopica." Ancient criticism too saw very truly and subtly this connection between realism and comedy. Longinus (IX. 15) observes that both poetry and prose, in their decline, resolve themselves into the description of *ἥθος*, by which he appears to mean not so much character as

<sup>32</sup> Bibl. Crit. Pt. II, pp. 57-58. Quoted by Jacobs, *Prolegomena* to his edition of Achilles Tatius, p. xv.

manners and customs (*mores*). The *Odyssey*, for example (which Longinus considers to be not up to the true epic standard set by the *Iliad*)—the *Odyssey*, in the realistic detail it gives about matters at the house of Odysseus, becomes as it were a comedy of manners. (ἡ ἀπακμὴ τοῦ πάθους ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις συγγραφεύσι καὶ ποιηταῖς εἰς ἥθος ἐκλύεται. τοιαῦτα γὰρ που τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύος ἠθικῶς αὐτῷ βιολογούμενα οἰκίαν, οἶον ἐὶ κωμωδία τίς ἐστὶν ἡθολογούμενη.)

It might, then, be assumed almost *a priori* that the epic-tragic main plot of the “*Æthiopica*” would offer little place for humor. The assumption is justified; such humor as Heliodorus is capable of, he places almost wholly in his episodes. It centres about the figure of Cnemon, who not only is often rallied about his cowardice (*ante*, pp. 138–139), but is himself, in more senses than one, a sad wag. He gibes at Theagenes for being agitated at the sight of Thisbe’s corpse: “though you had a swoorde by your side, yet you, like a stoute and valiante warriour, were afraid of a woman, and shee deade. . . . Hereat they [Theagenes and Chariclea] smiled a little” (U 49). Again, when the young couple have agreed to disguise themselves as beggars, he shrewdly nippeth them: “That will be well (saide Cnemon) for ye be very evell favoured people, but moste Cariclia, whose eye was lately pulled out [in her dream, II. xvi], wherefore me thinketh you will not onely aske peeces of breade, but coverletes and caldrons. Hereat they smiled a litle, so that their laughter moved but their lippes

only" (U 58-9).—And very polite at that, we should say. Encountering Calasiris near Chemmis, Cnemon asks the old priest who he is, and Calasiris returns the question; whereupon, "That were a mery jeste in deede, saide Cnemon." These specimens of the young man's humor will probably suffice; if not, others may be found at U 65, 79-80, 156. The conversation of Calasiris with the deaf fisherman Tyrrhenus (V. xviii; U 137-8; cf. *post* p. 196-197 n. 64)—also an episode—affords a gleam of humor in the deaf man's answers at loggerheads. There is still another humorous episode—the meeting of Calasiris, Nausicles and Cnemon with an anonymous youth whom Heliodorus creates merely to tell them news. Incidentally this "messenger" appears to be in love with a girl named Isias, who is leading him a merry dance to satisfy her caprices. Nausicles indulges in a bit of pleasantry at the lover's expense; who hastens off to his mistress, and the incident is closed (VI. iii, iv; cf. *post* p. 196-197 n. 64). From the main plot I recall but three humorous passages, likewise of a very mild order. Calasiris and Chariclea disguised as beggars jest at their own appearance (VI. xi, xii); Calasiris rallies Chariclea upon her expertness in inventing schemes to put off her suitors (VI. ix; cf. *ante*, p. 139); Theagenes jokes ironically about the golden fetters placed upon him and Chariclea by the Ethiopians (IX. ii; U 234, quoted *post*, p. 214, q. v.). On the whole, humor is not Heliodorus's strong point.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> There is a bit of unintentional fun in Underdowne's version of one of Chariclea's laments: "But O Theagenes,



The realistic humor of Achilles Tatius has already been observed at its best in the scenes of high comedy that centre about Melitta (*ante*, pp. 154-155). Hardly below these is the passage at V. xx, where Clitophon protests that he is not *really* Melitta's husband, and Satyrus answers 'Tush, man, you sleep with her!'—the sort of answer that is all-conclusive in Comedy, and can be warranted to bring down the house. Repeated once or twice, it would become a true Molière-esque catchword, like "Mais que diable allait-il faire dans cette galère?" or "Sans dot!" In fact, the whole scene is richly humorous, from the moment when Satyrus declares that he has *mollified* Leucippe by telling her that Clitophon has married Melitta against his will—absent-mindedly as it were—to the composition of Clitophon's silly answer to Leucippe's letter. Very funny too is the solemn beginning of the supper-party in the temple (VIII. iv): Clitophon with a black eye and a bloody nose is ashamed to meet the eye of Sostratus across the table; while Sostratus, having given Clitophon that same black eye, is too much embarrassed to look at *him*. The horseplay implied here is more prominent in the broadly comic *genre*-picture of "The Husband's Return" (V. xxiii). Clitophon and Melitta being at dinner, in comes Thersander, and boxes and buffets the young gentleman about<sup>34</sup>—who

. . . if thou be dead . . . it is time I offer these funeralls to thee (and herewithall she pulled off her haire, and laid it on her bed)" (U 163; VI. viii).

<sup>34</sup> On this, and the other scene of fustigation in the temple (VIII. i) cf. *ante*, p. 147.

meanwhile philosophizes! (Quaere, whether this be not a burlesque of those same domestic scenes in the *Odyssey* which displease Longinus?) Achilles Tatius's fondness for low intrigue produces several *genre* pictures of the same Flemish or Hogarthian realism. Leucippe's mother "takes on like anything"; faints; recovers; boxes Clio's ears; scolds Leucippe; Leucippe trumps up a story; and her mother again "takes on" (II. xxiv-xxv). The talk is like a popular Italian ballad-dialogue between a strict mother and a gay daughter, or like that of the peasants in some of Fortini's *novelle*. Again (II. xx-xxii), two intriguing slaves swap fables, of which the second has much of the spirit of Uncle Remus. Or Clitophon and Satyrus go by night to Clinias's lodging and try to rouse him; while they are under his window clamoring in the dark street, they are joined by Clio the slave-girl (II. xxvi):—a vivid bit of *genre*. Even more masterly is the picaresque scene at the inn, as described by the decoy-prisoner (VII. iii). Either of these last might figure creditably in "Roderick Random" or "Gil Blas." The antics of Clitophon in love (I. vi), the further talk between Leucippe and her mother (II. xxviii), Thersander's precipitate retreat, "to avoid a third ordeal" (VIII. xiv), are all distinctly amusing; but the modern reader will hardly force a smile at Menelaus's mummary (III. xviii), or at Leucippe's unseemly kicking in the convulsions with which her derangement began (IV. ix), or at the priest's "Aristophanic" invective against Thersander (VIII. ix). Nor will

he find to his taste the misogynistic passages, which undoubtedly amused the Greek and probably amused the Renaissance reader:—the cynical view of Sosthenes (VI. xvii) ; Menelaus's arguments and propensities (II. xxxv–xxxviii) ; Clinias's invective against women and marriage (I. viii). It is of interest, however, to find such considerable portions of the argument *de conjuge non ducenda* worked out at this early date. Satire against women, apparently a convention of Greek as of mediaeval literature, finds a place not only in Euripides and in Lucian, but in Achilles Tatius as well.

Longus offers few specifically humorous passages like the vintage-scene, where Daphnis and Chloe are each jealous of the attentions paid to the other (II. ii), or the wedding (IV. xxxviii–xl) where the smell of the goats and the rudeness of the rustic chorus are gently laughed at. His humor is rather pervasive, inhering as it does in the incongruity between the children's innocence and the piquancy of their experiments. Unlike the humor of Heliodorus, which is verbal, residing in comment or gibe, it is more like that of Achilles Tatius, a part of the situation itself, inherent in the relations of the persons to each other as the plot evolves.

So much for the humor of the Greek Romances. We turn to a study of their Setting—their background in time (historical) and in space (geographical), and their general *mise en scène* of descriptive circumstance.

Among the Greek Romances known to the



Renaissance none possesses an historical background that is at all definite, accurate or consistent, or that vitally affects the course of the tale.<sup>35</sup> The events of the "Æthiopica" are supposed to occur while Egypt is still a satrapy of Persia—i. e., before the conquests of Alexander—and at a time when the Satrap is at war with the half-legendary King of Ethiopia. Within these shadowy limits there occur plenty of anachronisms and historical inconsistencies (Rohde 452-455), but nothing to date the story. Of "Clitophon and Leucippe" all we know is that its events take place after the time of Alexander, or at least after the foundation of Alexandria and the building of the Pharos, and before the final destruction of the temple of Diana at Ephesus. Here again a supposed war between Thrace and Byzantium pushes its way into the plot, and takes Leucippe to Tyre. But that is all. As for Daphnis and Chloe, for all we know, they may have loved any time this side the Golden Age.

The geographical setting, despite specific names, is hardly less vague than the historical. On Lesbos there are undoubtedly hills and streams, shores, caves and harbors such as those described by Longus;—but so there are elsewhere. Heliodorus, whose detailed accounts of matters Egyp-

<sup>35</sup> The Ninus-fragment (discovered 1893) and the romance of Chariton ("Chaereas and Callirhoe," first published 1750) may be properly termed historical fiction, the first because of its historical hero and heroine (Ninus and Semiramis) and its prominent and (comparatively) consistent historical setting; the second because of its historical personages (Artaxerxes, etc.). Both may be dated before 200 A.D. As both were unknown to the Renaissance, they will receive no further notice here.

tian have been supposed to prove personal acquaintance with Egypt, has been shown to be inaccurate. (Naber, in *Mnemosyne*, N. S., I. (1873), p. 146 ff., cited by Rohde, 456, n. 1.) What matter? The face of the earth, built of spaces that hold its regions apart, and diversified by cities, islands, winds, waves and strange inhabitants, is for Heliodorus, as well as for Achilles Tatius, just the board on which the powers play their game,—no more. Any space whatever will do to separate two lovers, any storm to throw out of its course the ship that bears them, any city to receive them. What happens may have happened almost anywhere.<sup>36</sup>

In the absence of real local color, both Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius employ geographical setting largely as a source of instruction and entertainment, by way of the remarkable misinformation and of the numerous descriptions it plausibly affords. A glance at some of the glosses in Underdowne's version of the "*Æthiopica*" will suggest the prominence of this instructive matter. "A pretty discourse of Achilles countrie with the arguments that the Aenians have to prove that they are of Achilles bloud" (75). "The Calidonian sea, is very troublesome" (136); and Calasiris at great length explains why. Complying with the request of his new acquaintances at

<sup>36</sup> The geographical background, like the historical, appears, in the Romances we are here concerned with, to have declined from an earlier state of much greater importance. "The Marvels Beyond Thule" of Antonius Diogenes is the very type of *Reiseroman*. In the "*Babylonica*" of Iamblichus, the local color, Oriental at least in intention, is sometimes essential to the story (Rohde, 378-9).

Delphi, he gives various information about Egypt—its religions, the construction of its tombs and pyramids, the source of the Nile, and the causes of the flood (68–9). “Wherefore soever yron serveth in other countries, gold serveth in Æthiopia” (234). “Howe the Persian horsman is armed.” . . . “How a steele coat is made” (245). “How the Trogloditae weare their arrowes” viz. radiating from their turbans; . . . “Whereof the Trogloditae make their arrowes”: viz. “from a bone out of the dragons backe . . . they sharpen the same, and make a naturall head thereof” (248). “Nylus, Asasoba, and Astabora, flouds of Æthiopia beside Meroe” (261). “The length and breadth of the Iland wherein Meroe is” . . . “Wheate and other fruite of Æthiopia.” . . . “The reedes of Æthiopia are great belike” (262)—this last a cautious observation to temper the account of Hydaspes’ bamboo pavilion, which was “made of foure reedes . . . so that at everie corner stode a reede to stay it up insteede of a pillar”:—rather too tall a story to be swallowed without a gloss. That the Blemmyes stabbed the Persian horses in the belly, and then having thus brought down both horse and rider, proceeded to hamstring the latter, is advertised as “A notable fact of the Blemmies” (247). Hydaspes’ reception of ambassadors and gifts from various peoples offers an unusual opportunity for the introduction of “notable facts” (278–9); and his sojourn at Syene enables its people to show him a Nilometer, and sundials which at the solstice cast no shadow—Syene being on the tropic—and



to discuss again the course of the Nile, its peculiar plants and animals, and its functions of fertilizing, of making alluvial land, and of serving as a calendar (250-251).

Achilles Tatius likewise loses no opportunity to tell of strange lands and strange beasts:—the Hippopotamus (IV. ii-iii); the Elephant and his sweet breath (IV. iv-v); the Phoenix and his pious son (III. xxv); the Crocodile, whose teeth extend back almost to his belly (IV. xix); a Sicilian spring, where fire and water mingle; a musical river in Spain, played upon by the wind; a Libyan lake from which gold is fished up by means of poles smeared with pitch (II. xiv). Indeed, so far from losing an existent opportunity, he creates opportunities where they do not exist. Not one of the passages just cited has the slightest relevancy.

Longus is saved from such geographical digressions, just as he is saved from the domination of Fortune—by staying at home. And in describing that home, he exhibits, far more than either Heliodorus or Achilles Tatius, a true artist's appreciation of the intrinsic beauty of his setting. The thicket and the grotto where Daphnis and Chloe respectively were found (I. ii, iv); the sights, sounds, and occupations of summer (I. xxiii), of winter (III. iii-iv), and of spring (III. xii-xiii); the garden of Philetas (II. iii) and the garden of Lamon (IV. ii-iii)—the latter with its distant view of meadows and grazing sheep and cattle, and of the sea with ships sailing by; the vintage (II. i-ii) and the gathering of the fruit

(III. xxx-xxxiv);—these are some of the features, truly imagined, of that old rustic world in which Longus's boy and girl shepherded their flocks. Certainly, as has been said, neither this landscape nor this country life is peculiar to Lesbos; but whether in Lesbos or in Sicily, "in Tempe or the dales of Arcady," it breathes the same Theocritean charm—a charm with which there is nothing at all comparable in either of the other Romances. Still, when Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius consent to forego their puerile delight in "hearing or telling some new thing," and soberly endeavor to make a real background for real events, they are not without success. Heliodorus's account of "The habitation and place, where the thieves of Egypt abode, . . . with their common wealth, and trade of life" (U 14); the corresponding and partly imitative passage in "Clitophon and Leucippe" describing the Nile and its floods and the buccaneers' islands (IV. xi, xii); Heliodorus's grandiose account of the ceremonies at Delphi (III. i-v); Achilles Tatius's lively description of the gay traffic on the Nile (IV. xviii) and of the city of Alexandria (V. i-ii); do succeed in imparting to the reader some sense that the action of the story is taking place in this world. But such passages are rare. For the most part, the geographical setting of these two Romances is made to serve the sophist's turn for pseudo-science and improving misinformation, for marvel and paradox, and for set description.

An excess of description, in particular, is one

of the most striking faults of the whole *genre*. Here again, Longus offends least, kept safe by that artistic feeling which among these rhetoricians fell to his share alone. Yet even he over-describes;—inserting, for example, into his description of the garden of Lamon an irrelevant list of the paintings or sculptures in the temple of Bacchus that stood there. We may well, however, be “astonished at his moderation” when we remember that the whole of “Daphnis and Chloe”—the very story—purports to be an explanation of a series of pictures.<sup>37</sup> Pictures he does give us, in plenty, not confining these to background, either (*ante*, pp. 166–167), but envisaging the incidents themselves pictorially: Chloe girdled with a fawn-skin and crowned with pine meets Daphnis and offers him a drink of milk (I. xxxiv); Daphnis swims ashore supported on the horns of two cows (I. xxx); Daphnis as the strangers from town first behold him (IV. xiv) or as Gnatho describes him (IV. xvii); and many others. Nor does he confine his art to visual impressions alone; he gives a wide range of lovely sensuous images—the sounds and motions and odors of his idyllic world, as well as its sights. There is the sailors’ song and chorus and its echo, coming broken and diversified by the varying conformation of land and water (III. xxi); Philetas’s piping (II. xxxv); Dryas’s pantomimic dance of the vintage (II. xxxvi) and

<sup>37</sup> This conception of the story as a succession of Idylls (*εἰδύλλια*—little pictures) is accepted by M. Raphael Collin, who has re-translated “Daphnis and Chloe” into the language of pictorial art.



Daphnis and Chloe's dramatic dance of Pan and Syrinx (II. xxxvii); the piping of Daphnis and Chloe, the nightingale's responsive song, and the bleating of the flocks—a chorus of springtime (III. xii–xiii); and the rich autumnal garner of pears and apples, with all the color and fragrance of the fruit—especially that golden apple for which Daphnis climbed to the topmost bough (III. xxxiii–xxxiv). But with all this abundance of pictures and golden profusion of sensuous imagery, Longus has spared us the tedious descriptions which his Proem may well have led us to expect. He stops well within the bounds of that older Greek moderation which the other Romancers seem to have unlearned. His pastoral theme and his sense of measure, together with his instinct for beauty, keep him from excess, and, despite his elaborate style, let him rest in an effect of simplicity. This richness in simplicity is what constitutes his peculiar charm.

In Achilles Tatius the excess of description, like the excess of “psychologizing” (*ante*, p. 145), is a trick of the rhetorician's trade. The descriptive show-pieces of which he is so fond were, like the *ῥητοποιεῖται*, a regular exercise of the schools, known as *ἐκφράσεις*, “a set description intended to bring a person, place, picture, etc., vividly before the mind's eye. It is found largely in the Epideictic rhetoricians, and still more largely in the Greek Romances.”<sup>38</sup> These *ἐκφράσεις*, many of which have come down to us

<sup>38</sup> Saintsbury, “Hist. of Crit.,” Vol. I, *Index*. “Epideictic—the third kind of oratory—the rhetoric of display” (*ibid.*).

in the works of Theocritus, Moschus, Ovid, Aelian, Lucian, Callistratus, Philostratus and others, differ fundamentally both in purpose and in method from the descriptions in Greek classical poetry. Classical descriptions—the Shield of Achilles (Il. XVIII. *fin.*), the Palace and the Garden of Alcinous (Od. VII), the sleeping eagle of Zeus, and Mount Aetna in eruption (Pindar, Pyth., I)—are made “with the eye on the object,” and with the purpose of giving material or background for action, or brilliant illumination to a stage in the lyrical evolution of an idea. The sophisticated descriptions of Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic times, the *ἐκφράσεις*, are made for their own sake, for display; and with the eye on a *picture*<sup>39</sup> of the object. It has often been pointed out that Alexandrian poetry, and post-Alexandrian poetry both Greek and Roman, found subjects and models largely in Alexandrian painting.<sup>40</sup> This habit of pictorial description, of conceiving a literary theme pictorially, produces about the same literary result whether in any given case the picture described

<sup>39</sup> “It is indeed, usual among the Latin poets (who had more art and reflection than the Grecian) to take hold of all opportunities to describe the picture of any place or action, which they generally do better than they could the place or action itself.”

Addison’s “Notes” on his translations from Ovid. Works, ed. Tickell, 1804, Vol. VI, pp. 177–8.

<sup>40</sup> Mahaffy, “Greek Life and Thought,” pp. 117 ff, 218 ff, 414 ff; Ste. Beuve, “Étude sur Virgile,” p. 278; A. Lang, “Theocritus and his Age” (Introduction to his Translation of Theocritus, Bion and Moschus), pp. xxxvii ff; T. R. Glover, “Studies in Virgil,” pp. 53–4; (who cites) Boissier, “Promenades Archéologiques:—Rome et Pompéi,” pp. 342–387.

by the rhetorician be an existing painting or only an imaginary painting visualized,—a scene recomposed in pictorial terms.<sup>41</sup> Thus, in describing the “real” garden of Clitophon’s house (I. xv), Achilles Tatius largely repeats the same details—crystal fountain, cloistered wall, foliage closely interwoven, with interstices through which the sunlight filters upon the ground in flickering spots of light and shade—the same details that he has used to describe the meadow in the *painting* which opens his story (I. i). The pictorial habit of mind reinforces, and is reinforced by, the desire for rhetorical display.

The abduction of Europa, in particular,—the painting of which has just been mentioned—was one of the stock possessions alike of painter,

<sup>41</sup> So that, e. g., the question whether the picture-gallery which Philostratus’s *Elkoves* (*Imagines*) profess to describe was genuine or not, concerns not so much the student of literature as the student of painting. In fact, these and similar literary descriptions are well known to have been taken, in their turn, as models for illustration by the painters of the Renaissance. See Ch. Bigot, “Raphael and the Villa Farnesina,” pp. 69 ff; Franz Wickhoff, “Venezianische Bilder,” in *Jahrb. d. Kgl. preussischen Kuntsversammlungen*, Vol. 23, pp. 118–123; Richard Förster, “Philostrat’s Gemälde in der Renaissance,” *ibid.*, Vol. 25, pp. 15–48; “Lucian in der Renaissance” (Kiel, 1886). For the history of Greek painting, the literary documents, including numerous *ἐκφράσεις*, are collected in Overbeck, “Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen” (Leipzig, 1868). As far as I am aware, there is no comprehensive work on the history of the relations between literature and the graphic arts—a most fascinating subject. An important chapter is contributed to the history of the *criticism* of these relations, by Professor W. G. Howard, in the *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Ass’n of America*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (March, 1909), pp. 40–123, under the title “Ut Pictura Poesis.”



sculptor, engraver, poet and rhetorician. It figured largely in statues, in vase-painting, and in the wall-painting of Alexandria and the cities of southern Italy;<sup>42</sup> it was carved upon gems;<sup>43</sup> and, before Achilles Tatius, it had received literary handling in Moschus (Idyll II.), Horace (Od. III. 27), Ovid (Met. II. 836-875;<sup>44</sup> Fasti V. 605 ff.; Amores I. iii, 23 ff.), Lucian (Dialogi Marini, XV.), Anacreon (Teubner, No. 54) and Nonnus (Dionysiaca, I. 46 ff.), and had been travestied in the Batrachomyomachia (65-81).<sup>45</sup> Everywhere the treatment revolves in a closed round of images: Europa and her companions

<sup>42</sup> Helbig, "Untersuchungen," pp. 224 ff.; "Campanische Wandgemälde," Nos. 122-130. Otto Jahn, "Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken," in *Wiener Akademie, hist-phil. Classe, Denkschriften*, v. 19 (whole volume); "Über ein Marmorrelief der Glyptothek in München," in *Berichte der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philol-Hist. Classe*, Vol. 6 (1854), pp. 160-194 (esp. pp. 185-6).

<sup>43</sup> Furtwängler, "Die Antiken Gemmen," Pl. VI, 63, XXXVII, 5, etc. Reinach, "Pierres Gravées," Pl. 28, 29, 76, 79. "La Galerie de Florence" (Paris, 1819; no paging, or numbering of plates), Vols. I and IV.

<sup>44</sup> *A propos* of which, Addison makes the remark quoted *ante*, p. 170 n. 1, and in the same connection praises Achilles Tatius's Europa as surpassing Ovid's.

<sup>45</sup> From the Renaissance on, its popularity is undiminished. Colonna, "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," I. xiv (with beautiful wood-cuts); Poliziano, "Giostra," I, st. 105-6; Muzio, "La Europa," in "Rime," Vinegia MDLI, ff. 146-151; Maffei, Canzonetta "Quel tuo caro soggiorno," in *Parnaso Italiano*, Vol. 52, p. 19; Marino, "Adone," VI, st. 59 sqq.; Spenser, "Muiopotmos"; Greene, "Morando" (see *post*, pp. 399-400); Tennyson, "Palace of Art." It forms the subject of paintings by Veronese, Albani, Frans Wouters, Titian, Claude Lorraine, and Guido Reni. The lists given in the text and in this note do not profess to be exhaustive.

gather flowers; the gentle bull appears, and is described at length; she mounts upon his back and is carried out to sea; in terror she holds his horn with one hand, while the other grasps his back or her garment; her garment flutters out sail-like in the breeze; she draws up her feet to keep them dry; her anxious companions follow to the water's edge, and wade hesitatingly in; sea-gods and sea-monsters gambol about; the bull "roars gently," answering Triton's horn; Eros leads the procession, sometimes guiding the bull with reins, or with garlands of flowers. Such is the assortment from which now this group of images, now that, is chosen. Achilles Tatius employs nearly all. And of all these details, it should be remembered, only one has the slightest relevancy to his romance:—the power of Eros. Even this does no more than furnish a pretext for the conversation between Clitophon and the author. All the rest is for show. In the same way, of all the details in the word-painting of the garden (I. xv), only one is even tangent to the story. The peacock, spreading his tail to woo his mate, suggests to Clitophon a text for the discourse on love's universal dominion whereby he begins his courtship of Leucippe. The garden nowhere else touches the personages or their action; it is nowise employed as a background; like the picture of Europa, it is a word-painting, and a word-painting only.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Considering the fondness of the Greek Romancers for representing all things to the eye, one is surprised to find them making such small use of Emblems. There are none in Longus. In Heliodorus I recall but one: "What man,"

The painting of Philomela (V. iii) though it has some tinge of relevancy in so far as it portends disaster from the excursion to Pharos, is none the less irrelevant in the fulness of its detail. The exact position and expression of the figures simply does not matter; it is only the subject, which, as a portent of Leucippe's abduction, counts at all; but Achilles Tatius as usual enjoys playing his *tour de force*, dwells with gusto upon every particular of the painting—and then proceeds to render the whole description superfluous by telling, in addition, the *story* of Philomela. One or the other—either the story, or anything more than a bare mention of the subject of the picture—is surplusage.

Where Achilles Tatius abandons the methods of word-painting, broadens his range of sensuous appeal, employs images of sound and movement, says Theagenes, speaking of the race he is about to run, at the goal of which stands Chariclea, "will look on Cariclia, and approach to her so hastily that he can get before me? to whom can her eies give like wings, as to me, and cause him flie so faste? Know you not, that *painters make love with two winges, declaring, as by a Riddle, the nimbleness of those that be in love?*" (U 100, IV. ii). Underdowne duly glosses: "Why Cupide is painted with two wings." Achilles Tatius has a fair sprinkling of Emblems. In Clitophon's dream (I. iii) the woman of dread aspect, holding a sickle in one hand and a sword in the other, is probably emblematic of Fate or of Fortune. At II. iv, Cupid's warlike equipment with bow and quiver, arrows and fire, is said to symbolize a lover's courage. Melitta's plea (V. xvi) marshals numerous nautical emblems of marriage. The Byzantine romancers, having had the benefit of mediaeval allegory, are richer in Emblems. Eustathius, e. g., presents emblematic paintings of the four cardinal virtues—Justice, Temperance, Prudence, and Valor (II. i-vi), and of the twelve months (IV. iv-xviii) at enormous length and irrelevancy.



and suggests rather than analyzes emotion, he is more successful, as well as more relevant,—for instance, in his description of the ship getting under way (II. xxxii), or of Leucippe's modest dress and bearing when she is about to take the ordeal (VIII. xiii), and in the *genre*-pictures already noted (*ante*, p. 161). Forming part of the narrative, and partaking of its movement, these gain at once artistic sanction and artistic vitality. But they are the accidental exceptions. Most of the descriptions in "Clitophon and Leucippe" are of the kind already characterized,—without structural justification on the one hand, and confined on the other hand to a narrow range of stationary visual images foredoomed to tedious ineffectiveness. Examples abound. At I. iv Leucippe is described, and so vaguely that no reader can form the ghost of an idea how she looked; at I. xix her beauty is compared with that of the peacock and of the garden, just as ineffectively. At II. iii and xi are descriptions—ingenious in themselves but wholly digressive and irrelevant—of a crystal wine-cup, a necklace, and a purple robe,—*à propos* whereof there are further digressions, upon the discovery of wine and of the uses of the purple fish. The magnificent sacrifice conducted by Callisthenes on behalf of the Byzantines (II. xv)—unlike the corresponding ceremonial in Heliodorus (III. i-v; see *post*, pp. 184-186)—does not combine with the attitude or action of the personages to form a picture,—does not, in a word, serve as background. The statue of Zeus Casius at Pelu-

sium, and the paintings in his temple—Andromeda rescued by Perseus, Prometheus rescued by Hercules (III. vi–viii)—are simply dragged in, without even the thin pretext that they suggest conversation. Leucippe's tears, and the mode in which they intensify the beauty of her eyes (VI. vii), afford a passage which "fairly bursts with the pride of word-pictures."<sup>47</sup> To conclude as we began, Achilles Tatius over-elaborates the outwardness of things exactly as we found him over-elaborating their inwardness; his pictures "*hors texte*," like his psychology, are the trick of a rhetorician, not the work of an artist. No Lessing has arisen to tell him where lies the strength and where the weakness, respectively, of language and of visual form; and there is present in him no fine native instinct to keep him, like Longus, on the right side of the boundary.

Heliodorus is less the rhetorician and more the observer. He possesses a genuine talent for seizing the picturesque aspect of events, and for describing their progress in the form of great spectacles,—spectacles which, involved as they are in the story, are structurally justified.<sup>48</sup> This fondness for the spectacular, while it tends somewhat to narrow Heliodorus's sensuous range to images chiefly of sight and movement,<sup>49</sup> at the

<sup>47</sup> Warren, p. 66.

<sup>48</sup> These genuine sensuous descriptions, which are almost always relevant, should be distinguished from his irrelevant geography, zoölogy, literary criticism, Homeric discussions, and other non-sensuous digressive matter.

<sup>49</sup> Longus employs the whole gamut,—form, color, movement, sound, smell, touch, taste, etc.; Achilles Tatius rather neglects smell, touch and taste; Heliodorus is narrower than either.

same time saves him from mere *ἐκφρασις*. In all its great length, the "Æthiopica" contains only one set and irrelevant description—that of the carved amethyst (V. xiii, xiv) given by Calasiris to Nausicles as a ransom for Chariclea; and it contains no description at all of painting or sculpture. Even where such a description would have been wholly relevant, perhaps desirable,—as in the case of the painting of Andromeda which made so much trouble,—Heliodorus seems not to be so much as tempted. He "doesn't even hesitate"; he goes right on with the story (IV. viii; X. xiv-xv).

His strong inclination to notice the visual side of things gets satisfaction in other ways. Not content, for instance, with telling how a thing looks, he tells also how the people who look at it look, how they open and close their eyes, shift their gaze from one point to another, and are affected in appearance by what they see. He is fond of describing persons, objects and actions by means of the impression they make upon some observer, whose changes of countenance he describes in turn. This habit of treating the world of sight by way of its effect upon people is closely parallel to the method already noted (*ante*, pp. 144-145) of treating the world of thought and feeling by way of *πάθος*;—the effort in each case being to represent not the thing itself, but that which the thing makes somebody *feel*. Heliodorus's *pathetic optics*—if I may so name the mannerism—strikes the reader at the very beginning of the "Æthiopica," dominating



as it does the whole of the first two chapters. The brigands look at the sea, and then turn to scrutinize the shore; there they behold the pirate ship and the dead bodies of the pirates, slain feasting; they are astonished and stupefied at the incomprehensible sight. Soon they discern Chariclea tending the wounds of Theagenes; but *her* eyes, cast upon him, see them not; while *his* eyelids, drooping in his exhaustion, still permit his gaze to be drawn to her. She rises, her quiver of arrows clanging, her hair unbound, her robe shining in the sun; and the brigands are terrified at this apparition of a supposed goddess. Now she embraces Theagenes, and this action, observed by the brigands, proves her mortal; they approach; their shadow falls within her field to vision; she looks up,—and so on. Verbs of seeing, verbs indicating the effects of sight, are surprisingly numerous. The effect occurs again and again. These brigands, like the band under Thyamis, and like Thyamis himself, are awe-struck by the beauty of Theagenes and Chariclea (I. iii, iv); so are the troops of Mithranes (V. vii). When Chariclea, unaware of the presence of Calasiris and Cnemon at the house of Nausicles, is brought before them, “she looked up a little, and contrary to her expectation she saw and was seene, so that they all three began to cry out, and howle suddenly, as if there had beene a token geeven them when they should have begun” (U 132). The sentiment revealed in Theagenes and Chariclea’s changes of countenance as they both fall in love at the moment

of his receiving the torch from her (III. v); Theagenes's unsuccessful efforts to conceal his emotion from his guests (III. x, xi); Chariclea's involuntary bodily movements and changes of countenance as she follows with her eye the race between Theagenes and Ormenus (IV. iii)—these and much more of the same sort<sup>50</sup> are on the border between description and characterization; they belong as much to the one world as to the other,—and in both are conveyed through *πᾶθος*.

One "effect," at once pathetic and spectacular, occurs so often in the "Æthiopica" that it seems to deserve special notice. I mean what may be called "hieratic epiphany." The disguised and wandering sun-god in old myths is from time to time made manifest, confounding his enemies and rejoicing his worshippers; and finally, his trials done, throws off his disguise for good and all, and reveals himself in splendor. So it is with the wandering hero, who, returning in beggar's weeds upon Apollo's holy day—the day of the New Moon after the winter solstice—stands forth from his rags, and smites his enemies with arrows inevitable as the arrows of the Far-Darter himself.<sup>51</sup> And so it is, too, with the wandering priest and priestess of the sun, likewise disguised as beggars and pilgrims, who yet from time to

<sup>50</sup> "A description of Theagenes" (VII. x); the sight of Theagenes inflames Arsace (VII. iv, vi); Theagenes' grace in waiting at table further inflames Arsace (VII. xxvii); Meroëbus blushes through his black skin (X. xxiv); Persina is moved to compassion at the sight of her daughter's youth, beauty, and fortitude (X. vii), etc.

<sup>51</sup> Schwartz, "Fünf Vorträge," pp. 17-19.

time show themselves for what they are, and strike the beholders with admiration, awe, pity or fear. No less than six times does Heliodorus make use of this hieratic epiphany. Chariclea at the Delphic games in honor of Pyrrhus shines in full priestly array, with sacred robe and laurel crown, quiver and torch (III. iv); again with these attributes of Artemis she appears to the brigands, a very goddess (I. ii); ceremonially robed for the bridal, she captivates Pelorus (V. xxxi); condemned to the stake by Arsace, she leaps lightly into the flames, which, retreating from her on all sides, only illuminate and enhance her radiant beauty,—so that the people cry out at the miracle, and are moved to rescue her (VIII. ix). Her ordeal upon the fiery altar (X. ix) is still more pathetic, and hieratic, and spectacular. “Shee tarried not, till they commanded her . . . , but put uppon her the holy garment, that she brought from Delphi, . . . wrought with golde, and other costly juelles,<sup>52</sup> and when shee had cast her haire abroad, like one taken with divine furie, ranne and leapt into the fire, and stood there a great while without harme, and her beauty then appeared a great deal more, so that every man looked upon her, and by reason of her stoale thought her more like a Goddesse, than a mortal woman. Thereat was every man amazed, and muttered sore. . . . But Persina above all other was most sorrowfull . . . ” (U 265). The scene containing the sixth instance, in which not only Chariclea, but Calasiris also, is revealed, is

<sup>52</sup> A mistranslation. The Greek means “wrought with gold and with rays of scarlet.”



so notable in other respects as well, that I reserve it for fuller discussion.<sup>53</sup>

It has been remarked (*ante*, pp. 176-177) that in Heliodorus the spectacular is relevant. The description is part of the story, the ornament is structural, the plot and the setting belong to each other. That which moves the plot, then,—Providence or the sudden stroke of Fortune—is also the producer of the spectacles, the *χορηγος*, as it were. In fact, this conception of the gods and fortune as makers of spectacles, as *playwrights*, in a word, does vitally affect the "Æthiopica." For Heliodorus, all the world's a stage, and the events in which his men and women play their parts constitute a drama, with its technical apparatus of prologue and epilogue, recognition and climax, main plot and episodes, "love-interest," "machines" and scenery;—a drama not lacking spectators, either; for, as has been seen, many of the scenes are set forth "pathetically," by way of their effect upon witnesses. Of this theatrical envisagement of situation, and of this employment of theatrical terminology, a few examples must suffice.<sup>54</sup> Theagenes advising surrender to Mithranes's troops, exclaims: "Why do we not cut short the tragic poem of this divinity that persecutes us? . . . lest, by planning an intolerable end of our play, he force us to suicide" (V. vi). At Cnemon's wedding, Chariclea laments:

<sup>53</sup> *Post*, p. 187 ff.

<sup>54</sup> The passages are collected, and discussed from the point of view of linguistics and archaeology, by J. W. H. Walden, "Stage Terms in Heliodorus's *Æthiopica*" (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 1894, Vol. 5, pp. 1-43).

“Ye (gods) have drawn out our drama without end,—beyond all other dramas” (VI. viii). The sudden capture of Theagenes and Chariclea by the Ethiopians is spoken of by Heliodorus as “the prologue and first scene of a play, as it were” (ὥσπερ ἐν δράματι προαναφώνησις καὶ προεισόδιον, IX. xvii). The unexpected meeting and recognition of Chariclea, Calasiris and Cnemon is wondered at by Nausicles as a *καθάπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀναγνωρισμός*, (V. xi). Cnemon recalls Calasiris to the point by the impatient remark, “You have introduced an episode foreign to your main action” (Ἐπεισόδιον δὲ τοῦτο οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπείσκυκλήσας, II. xxiv). The surprising presence of Thisbe’s body in Egypt, far from Athens, where she was supposed to be (II. viii), and the surprising appearance of Chariclea before Hydaspes with the claim to be his daughter (X. xii), are recognized as *coups de théâtre*: they are said to come about “as if by the machinery of the stage” (*καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς· ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς . . . καὶ οἶον ἐκ μηχανῆς ἀναφαίνουσα*). Scenic envisagement of the background appears in Cnemon’s complaint that Calasiris is omitting the details of the pomp at Delphi: “You have but opened the theatre, and straight shut it up againe” (U 79; III. i). The *dénouement* is conceived most theatrically, if not dramatically. The spectators of the final scene, says Heliodorus, though some were too far away to witness all its details, nevertheless rejoiced; some divine impulse perchance enabling them to understand its purport,—the same divine

impulse which had composed the play itself (ἡ τάχα καὶ ἐξ ὀρμῆς θείας ἡ σύμπαντα ταύτ' ἔσκηνογράφησεν, εἰς ἐπίνοιαν τῶν ἀληθῶν ἐλθόντες, X. xxxviii). The gods, likewise, have declared Chariclea to be Hydaspes' daughter, have brought her foster-father Charicles thither from Greece, as if *ex machina*, and have plainly designated the strange youth to be her bridegroom: such is the consummation of their favors, and the *finale* of the drama. (οἱ θεοὶ . . . τὴν πανόλβιον Χαρίκλειαν . . . σοι θυγατέρα ἀναδείξαντες, καὶ τὸν ταύτης τροφέα καθάπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐνταυῦθ' ἀναπέμψαντες . . . νῦν τὴν κορωνίδα τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ὥσπερ λαμπάδιον δράματος τὸν νύμφιον τῆς κόρης τουτονὶ τὸν ξένον νεανίαν ἀναφήναντες, X. xxxix.) With a single exception, soon to be noticed, this scene exhibits more strikingly than any other Heliodorus's conception of his Romance as a series of theatrical spectacles arranged by superhuman agency.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> In Achilles Tatius this conception is much less prominent, is applied rather to incidents than to the action as a whole, and, as might have been expected, is transferred from the gods to fortune. ἤρχετο τοῦ δράματος ἡ τύχη (I. iii). Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἡ συνήθης τύχη πάλιν ἐπιτίθεται καὶ συντίθεται κατ' ἐμοῦ δράμα καινὸν (VI. iii). Skilled courtship is likened to play-acting (I. x); so is the plausible story Melitta tells her husband (VI. x); Leucippe considers herself as acting a part under her pseudonym "Lacaena" (VI. xvi); Thersander's advocate slurs the oration of the priest as a piece of histrionics. On the other hand, it has been observed (*ante*, pp. 154-155, 157, 160-161) that Achilles Tatius, without saying so, often treats his situations like scenes in realistic comedy. Longus, as already pointed out (*ante*, p. 122), uses once the apparatus of tragedy—a series of rumors and messages (III. xxxi; IV. i, v, ix); and once, where Daphnis puts his goats through a musical drill, says that he arranged the spectators ὥσπερ θέατρον.



Enlarge the scale of Heliodorus's "pathetic optics"; magnify the place; increase the number of persons enacting or witnessing the *coup de théâtre*,—the number of persons taking part in the spectacle or moved by the "hieratic epiphany;" and you have those great ensemble scenes with which he delights to mark the chief points in his action. Of these, four may be noted; the beginning of the adventure, at Delphi (III. i-iv; IV. i-iv); the first turn of fortune towards evil, in the capture by pirates (V. xxvi); the turn of fortune toward good, in the scene of reunion at Memphis (VII. v-viii); and the happy ending. It is upon such scenes that Heliodorus lavishes his talent for visual description—a talent working there at its best, in the grandiose manner that is appropriate to the scene and characteristic of Heliodorus.—Calasiris is about to pass briefly over the ceremonies at Delphi: "After the Pompe and Funerall was ended—: Nay Father (quoth Cnemon interrupting him) it is not done yet, seeing your talke hath not made mee also looke thereon . . . who desire wonderfully to behold the whole order thereof" (U. 79). Accordingly Calasiris describes in detail the first part of the procession,—the hecatombs of oxen, the flocks of other victims, the lesser ministers of Apollo in attendance, the maidens dancing with baskets of fruit and flowers, and vases of perfumes and conserves; and the second part, consisting of the singers of the Hymn to Thetis. He then proceeds, deliberately conscious of sensuous effect: "The dance

which accompanied this song was so well adapted to it, and the cadence of their steps agreed so exactly with the melody . . . that for awhile, in spite of the magnificence of the spectacle, the sense of seeing was overpowered and suspended by that of hearing. . . . At length a band of youths on horseback, with their splendidly dressed commander, . . . afforded a spectacle far preferable to any sounds" (III. iii; B 64). The spectacle is that of Theagenes's escort, whose dress, mounts and accoutrements are minutely described. Theagenes follows.—". . . He was on horseback also, with a speare of Ashe poynted with steele in his hands, he had no helmet on, but was bare headed. His cloke was of Purple wrought with Golde, wherein was the battell of the Centaures and Lapithes: on the button of his cloke was Pallas pictured, bearing a shielde before her breast, wherein was Gorgons head. The comelines and commendation of that which was done, was some what increased by the easie blowing of the winde, which mooved his haire about his necke, parting it before his forehead, and made his cloake wave, and the nether parts thereof to cover the back and buttocks of his horse. You would have sayde that hys horse did knowe the beautie of his master, and that he beeing very faire him selfe, did beare a passing seemely man, he rayned so, and with pricked up eares he tossed his head and rolled his eyes fiercelie, and praunced, and leapt in so fine sort. When he had the raynes a little at will, he would set forward courageously, and turne about on both sides,

and beat the ground with the tippes of his houfes lightly, and moderate his fiercenes with the pleasauntnesse of his pace" (U 81-2). Nor is the effect upon the spectators forgotten: the men praise Theagenes, the women pelt him with apples and flowers. And now appears Chariclea, described with the same particularity,—more beautiful even than Theagenes,—her eyes shining with greater splendor than that of the sacred torch she bears. This torch she presents to Theagenes:—at that moment their eyes meet, and they love. The background is magnificent,—the temple of Apollo, with a vast assemblage in splendid attire solemnly grouped around the altar; while at the altar, the centre of all eyes, are the pair of young lovers, hieratic, beautiful. No wonder that Raphael is supposed to have painted this scene (III. iv, v). Again at the race (IV. iii, iv) we have the same pictorial "composition": a monumental background of architecture; a throng of spectators symmetrically disposed about the amphitheatre; and again, now in the arena, the two or three central figures: "Chariclea glistered at the race ende . . . in her left hand she had a burning taper, and in the other a branche of palme, and as soone as she appeared, every man looked upon her. . . . After they had run the middle of the race . . . (Theagenes) turned him a little about, and frowning upon Ormenus, lifted up his shield aloft, and stretched out his necke, and with face fast fixed uppon Cariclia, at last he got to the race end, and start so farre before, that the Archadian



was many yardes behinde" (U 99, 101). The scene of the capture by pirates, where Chariclea embraces the pirate's knees, pleading for the life of Calasiris and Theagenes (V. xxvi), is also said to have been painted by Raphael. Here too there is a large and various background—two ships grappled; two crews, one victorious, one defeated; and, as before, the group of two in the centre, now with a subsidiary pair besides.<sup>56</sup>

The closing passages of the story—the ordeals before the King, Queen, priesthood and people of Ethiopia in solemn assembly; the procession of ambassadors bearing rich gifts; the wrestling-bout of Theagenes with "the Duke's champion," and his wonderful feat of driving the horse and the bull together and felling the bull; the sudden appearance of Charicles to resolve the complication; the mystic pomp and *trionfo* with which all ends—these likewise afford many spectacles of dignity and splendor, involving an ample scenic background, and a great multitude to be touched and moved.

But even these great scenes, rich and various as they are, do not sum up and blend so many of the characteristics of Heliodorus as does the scene of recognition, reunion and reconciliation under the walls of Memphis (VII. v-viii),—a scene which in structure, function, and ornament is the most representative passage of the "Æthio-

<sup>56</sup> Concerning the tradition that Raphael painted these scenes, I can only say, with Wilson (Dunlop, "Hist. of Fiction," I. 36, note) and Oeftering (p. 167), that I have found no confirmation of it, or indication of the whereabouts of the paintings.

pica." The situation is notably structural. It marks and effects the transition from one main set of misadventures—those caused by storms, pirates and brigands,—to the other main set—those due to intrigue and illicit passion.<sup>57</sup> This transition it accomplishes, first by inserting between the two sets of misadventures a moment of good fortune, wherein persons separated are reunited and persons at odds are reconciled; and secondly by giving occasion both to drop the subsidiary persons involved in the first set (Calasiris, who dies immediately afterward, and Thyamis, who takes no further part in the action), and to introduce the subsidiary persons (Arsace, Cybele, etc.) involved in the second set. Structural it is moreover in the sense that it is directly controlled by the forces that are at work to move the remainder of the plot. The arrival of Calasiris, sudden and surprising though it be, comes nevertheless in fulfilment of an oracle and of a necromantic prophecy. At the same time it is not outside the course of Nature; he is brought to the scene by following the adventures of Theagenes and Chariclea, who came into his life in consequence of his retreat to Delphi. So that we have the combination which Aristotle commends, of the unexpected with the caused; and we have it expressly ascribed to Fortune working under Providence (*ante*, p. 116). Furthermore, in Calasiris's revelation of himself to his sons, and Chariclea's revelation of herself to Theagenes,

<sup>57</sup> As for the danger of being sacrificed by the Ethiopians, I count that out for the present purpose, as being—structurally speaking—only the "moment" of last suspense.

we have a double "hieratic epiphany"; Calasiris drops his disguise of rags, and stands forth in his priestly robe; Chariclea speaks the word *Pythius*, and reminds Theagenes of her sacred torch.—Again, the whole passage is avowedly theatrical: the spectators on the walls are likened to the spectators at a play; the arrival of Calasiris is likened to that of an actor *ex machina*, and is termed "an episode," or "the beginning of a rival action"—(viz., an action rivaling in interest the fight between the brothers); Chariclea's entrance is "a new interlude"; her encounter with Theagenes, "the love interest of the play"; several recognitions are involved; and the conclusion is that "the tragedy, which threatened bloodshed, had passed into a comedy." Spectacular the situation is too, and most grandiose and "pathetic." The scene of action is no less than the whole exterior of a city, its walls and gateways thronged with people,—and the plain below, where, against this monumental background, the five protagonists move in shifting groups. Meanwhile, Arsace feeds her eyes and her passion upon the beauty of Theagenes; the spectators now laugh at the futility of Calasiris's interference, now "stand like pictures," and now are "overcome with wonder"; and at the end, spontaneously, they form a *Trionfo*, with torches, and pipes and flutes, marching in pomp to the Temple of Isis. This is Heliodorus at his best, at his most characteristic: spectacular, optical, "pathetic," theatrical, hieratic, grandiose.

But even at his best, Heliodorus inevitably and



painfully reminds us of the fundamental vice of the Greek Romancers,—their fatal lack of spirituality. Most spiritually minded of them all, conceiving his theme in something like the grand manner, with some attempt at breadth and nobility, he yet commits himself, like the rest, to the task—not of spiritualizing the world of sense by interpreting it in terms of character and divine destiny,—but of making character and divine destiny minister to the pleasures of the world of sense. For him, the gods, and human excellence as well, are producers of spectacles. One last illustration will suffice, and will close this discussion. There are three scenes, one in Longus, one in Achilles Tatius, one in Heliodorus, so much alike that they almost seem to represent a convention of the *genre*. Daphnis escapes drowning, and triumphantly half-swims, half-rides ashore supported on the horns of two of his cattle, “as in a chariot” (I. xxx). Clinias upon a yard gallantly rides the waves, and as he is driven near Clitophon and Leucippe cries out, “Hold fast, Clitophon!” (III. v). Theagenes having felled the bull “lay upon him, and with his left hand held him downe, but lifted his right hand up to heaven, and looked merrilie upon Hydaspes and all that were there els, who laughed, and were much delighted with that sight, and they heard that the Bull with his lowing declared the famousness of the victorie, as wel as if it had been declared with a trumpet” (U 281-2; X. xxx). In all these scenes the young man by his own efforts triumphs over physical danger,—indeed is

placed visibly *over* the thing he conquers, and in manifest control of it; and he is free from any sign of fear,—nay in two cases shows a smiling nonchalance. The heroism of Theagenes is further enhanced by the fact that he himself seeks the danger, having undertaken this feat of his own motion; and by the fact that he is actually awaiting death at the time, but can yet muster up courage to make so brave a show.—What, then, does this valor, this *virtus*, amount to? What, in the hero's supreme hour, *is* this final manifestation of his excellence? Why, a mere piece of theatricals; a bit of spectacular heroics; a mountebank's feat; a trick of the arena, performed by an animal-tamer "to make a Roman holiday." And this at the end of the most spiritual of the Greek Romances! Finally, it is noteworthy that this passage, like all the other great spectacular passages lately cited, signifies as much for plot and for character as for setting. The wheel has come full circle: plot, character, setting,—what was found true of one is found true of all; and what is found true of all in Heliodorus is found true of all, *a fortiori*, in Longus and Achilles Tatius. "Wahn, Wahn, überall Wahn!" One and all they subject the spirit to the sense; one and all they minister to the lust and pride of the eye; one and all they rest in a world of sound and show,—sunk in matter, and "bound upon the Wheel of Things." Not until the Renaissance revives their influence does there again appear so striking a specimen of the world's literature of illusion.

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Such is the content of the Greek Romances, such their matter,—conveniently set forth as Plot, Character, and Setting. And as these three are often indivisible,—for example in the spectacular scenes just now noticed,—so are Structure and Style in large part inseparable from them and from each other. Yet it will be convenient to make the division: to speak of the form of these Romances apart from their matter or content just expounded, and to treat this form under its separate aspects of Structure and Style. Always, though, the endeavor will be to show how all these are connected rather than disjoined; to show, more especially, how they are all referable to the common characteristics of the *genre* or to the particular author's conception of his work.

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Heliodorus, conceiving his Romance as a prose epic,<sup>58</sup> constructs it upon the approved epic plan. He takes the reader at once *in medias res*, at a point where the action has already become complicated, and lets it explicate itself gradually through the speech of the personages. "Action first, explanation afterwards" is his device to maintain interest. This narrative structure has been much commended;<sup>59</sup> and it would indeed deserve all praise were it carried out with any sort of moderation, and were Theagenes and Chariclea so characterized at the beginning as to make the reader willing to keep his interest on a continual strain until he shall find out their pre-

<sup>58</sup> Cf. p. 157, *ante*.

<sup>59</sup> See citations at Oeftering, 21-22.



vious history. In "A Tale of Two Cities"—to take an illustration *per contra*—the full chain of causes that make the beginning of the story is not revealed until within a few pages of the end (by Dr. Manette's prison-diary, read at the trial of Darnay); thus the suspense is maintained still longer than in the "Æthiopica"; yet the reader is kept engaged, because the personages have been made intrinsically interesting from the first. Not so the personages of the "Æthiopica."—Nor has Heliodorus kept measure in the execution of his involved plan. Calasiris "tells the story of his life"—which includes the adventures of Theagenes and Chariclea previous to the opening scene—not only at disproportionate length, but under unjustifiable interruptions. Cnemon's story—itsself only an episode—likewise comes out piecemeal. Neither is finished at a sitting, like Aeneas's narrative to Dido, or Odysseus's to the Phaeacians,<sup>60</sup> and between the several instalments there intervene events contemporary with the telling: the arrival of Nausicles, the arrival of Chariclea, her lamentations, Cnemon's fright, etc., which put the reader to a strain not warranted by his interest. Cnemon's story is even interlaced with Calasiris's; and the reader must for some time, like a juggler keeping three oranges in the air at once, bear in mind three distinct and non-

<sup>60</sup> To be sure, Odysseus's preliminary account, of how he had been cast ashore and had met Nausicaa, is separated from the body of his narrative; but these events, being known to the reader, are merely recapitulated, and involve no strain of attention.

coördinate<sup>61</sup> lines of narrative:—the events actually current; Calasiris's story still unfinished; and Cnemon's story still unfinished (V. ii, VI. ii). Here again we have an effect of Heliodorus's peculiar conception of his work—this time an effect of his theatrical conception of it.<sup>62</sup> He applies to his narrative, already complex enough, the technique of the stage. He will *tell* as little as possible; he declines the rôle of the omniscient novelist speaking of his men and women in the third person; they must do their own talking. Hence, let the continuity of the tale suffer as it will, nobody is known till he actually appears on the scene; nobody's appearance is prepared for; and each person when he does appear must tell in the first person "the story of his life." So far does Heliodorus carry this inappropriate dramatic method that at one time (II. xxx-xxxii) there is a fourfold involution of the narrative: (1) Calasiris and Cnemon being at Chemmis in the course of the *current* narrative, (2) Calasiris quotes to Cnemon what (3) Charicles at Delphi quoted to *him* (Calasiris) as having been (4) said to *him* (Charicles) by Sisimithres at Catadupi! A nest of boxes—"cycle and epicycle, orb in orb."

This mixture of methods epic and dramatic has

<sup>61</sup> There is no undue strain involved in following several *coördinate* threads of a plot,—e. g., the several adventures of different persons or groups. But this is not the task here; the stories of Cnemon and of Calasiris are both *sub-ordinate* to the current story; they both constitute a previous part of it; they both are needed to *account* for it; and so should no more be mingled with it than cause should be mingled with effect.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *ante*, pp. 157, 181-184.

several further results. In the first place, while it complicates the pattern, it renders the fabric sleazy, open-meshed, and, here and there, discontinuous. An author who loses sight of his personages for five books at a time would be extraordinary if he did not sometimes forget the circumstances in which he left them. There are several such "loose threads" in the "*Æthiopica*."<sup>63</sup> Moreover, its time-scheme is excessively obscure. The reader is glad if he can realize that X, which is told long chapters *after* Y, actually occurred *before* it; content if he can keep time-*sequence* clear, he allows himself a general uninquiring sense of obscurity about time-*length*. Analysis might indeed show that the chronology is quite consistent: the point is, that the reader is left with the feeling that it is not. Again, this open-work fabric leaves room, in its wide meshes, for the insertion of every kind of irrelevancy. The main story of the "*Æthiopica*," for fully half its course, is degraded to the level of a "frame-tale," and made to enclose the incidental *novella* of Cnemon, the narratives, wheel within wheel, of Calasiris, Charicles, and Sisimithres, and innumerable fragments of pseudo-science, geography, and apocryphal literary history and criticism: a disquisition on the evil eye (U 86-87; III. vii-viii), on the white and black magic of the Egyptians (U 92; III.

<sup>63</sup> At I. xxxii, Thyamis is taken prisoner; at VI. iii, he is reported to be heading a band of insurgents. There is no account of what happened between. At I. xxx-xxxi, he supposes that he has killed Chariclea; at VII. vii ff, he meets her without surprise. (Pointed out, among other "loose threads," by Walden, 1 n. 2.)



xvi), on the inundation of the Nile (U 68-9; II. xxviii); "A rule of Homer, how to knowe the gods: expounded by Calasiris" (U 90; III. xii-xiii); "A pretty discourse, whereby Calasiris proveth Homer to be an Egyptian" (U 91; III. xiv) and other "Prettie Heathenish questions." This irrelevancy is so characteristic of the Greek Romance as a *genre*, that though touched upon before, it must be returned to again and again. In actual bulk, probably not less than a quarter of the "Æthiopica" consists either of matters irrelevant, or of matters relevant unduly expanded.<sup>64</sup> Finally, Heliodorus's narrative struc-

<sup>64</sup> Relevant matter unduly expanded: The lengthy accounts of Hydaspes' siege of Syene and battle with Oroöndates, which occupy the whole of Book IX, and give color to the "legend that in the sixteenth century it (the 'Æthiopica') was gravely considered a handbook of tactics" (Whibley, *Introd.*, p. xiv). "The oration of Thyamis to his mates . . . (containing) the duetie of a good Capitaine. . . . Three things worth noting and following in choice of a wife" (U 29-30 Glosses). "The oration of Thyamis . . . (showing) How warre with theeves is ended" (U 37 do.). "Calasiris dissembled oration" (to the Delphians) (U 117, 18 do.); "Caricles pitifull oration about the taking away of Cariclia" (U 118 do.); "Hegesias Oration as touching the pursuite of those who tooke away Cariclia. Occasion is of most force in warre" (U 119 do.). "Cariclia's pittiful complaint being separated from Theagenes" (U 125 do.); "The sorrowe that Cariclia was in, at Cnemon his marriage" (U 163 do.). "A wise oration of a gentle man of Syene" (U 238 do.). "The oration of Hydaspes souldiers . . . wherein Hydaspes is commended for all the vertues requisite or needful for a King" (U 238 do.). "Great matters may not be sleightly handled, and here is a passing witty conference betweene Theagenes and Cariclia" (U 253 do.). "A pretty communication between Hydaspes and Oroöndates" (U 250 do.). "All the oration of Hydaspes, declareth what is the dutie of a good King" (U 272 do.).

ture lends itself to dramatic retardation: the story, as has been said, comes out in driblets; between any two portions concerning any given interest there are likely to be interpolated half a dozen other portions concerning other interests; so that, besides an effect of pleasurable suspense,<sup>65</sup>

The episode of the sojourn with Tyrrhenus (V. xviii-xxii) is relevant; not so Tyrrhenus's deafness, and his conversation at cross-purposes with Calasiris. The character of Tyrrhenus is not worked out with this deafness as an element in it, or indeed worked out at all; nor does anything happen in the plot because of this deafness, or because of the conversation at cross-purposes (U 137-8; V. xviii). In the same way, when Calasiris, Nausicles and Cnemon leave Chemmis to seek Theagenes (VI. iii-iv), and Heliodorus needs somebody to tell them that Mithranes has moved toward Bessa, he creates for the purpose a nameless acquaintance of Nausicles; but, not contented with letting him tell his news, weaves an irrelevant episode about him: makes him out to be in love with one Isias, an exacting mistress, at whose behest he is taking to her a "Phoenicopter." About this there ensues a bit of rallying conversation; the nameless lover says what the author created him to say, and is then absolutely dropped, and never heard of again. Episodes engaging in themselves, and exhibiting much the same sort of creative profusion as Dickens exhibits when he creates and throws away ("David Copperfield," ch. I) the woman who bought David's caul.

<sup>65</sup> "Il lasciar l'auditore sospeso procedendo dal confuso al distinto, dall' universale a' particolari . . . é una delle cagioni che fa piacer tanto Eliodoro." T. Tasso, *Opere*, X, 103, ed. Venez. (So quoted and cited by Jacobs, *Einleitung* to his translation of the "*Æthiopica*.")

Artistic suspense:—At the race at Delphi, says Calasiris, "the spectators were on the very tiptoe of expectation, and full of solicitude for the issue; and I more than all. . . . 'No wonder,' said Cnemon, 'that those present were in an agony of expectation, when I, even now, am trembling for Theagenes. Deliver me, therefore, I beseech you, as soon as you can, out of my suspense'" (B 81; IV. iii). Here the *reader's* suspense is heightened both by the interruption itself, which delays the telling of the outcome, and

the reader is quite likely to feel an effect of distraction and irritation anything but pleasurable. He grows impatient for the event; but no: "Der Vorhang [wird] erst nach und nach weiter aufgezogen und das volle Geheimnis erst am Ende enthüllt."<sup>66</sup> The end is in fact the most provoking example of this retarding policy. We know that all's bound to come out right; yet we must first undergo Chariclea's circumlocutions and tergiversations, next be distracted by the reception of the ambassadors, then be distracted again by Theagenes's gladiatorial exhibition, and finally suffer the knot to be untied, not by Chariclea's explanation at all, but by the totally unexpected arrival of Charicles. Involution, complication, interruption of the story, insertion of matter irrelevant, episodic, or unduly expanded, retardation, suspense, and cheap surprise—all, it seems, are of a piece; all are the natural results of a narrative method that is overstrained and vitiated by the desire for alien effects.<sup>67</sup>

by the content of the interruption—Cnemon's own suspense. The effect is made possible by Heliodorus's dramatic method, of having the event related to a hearer.

<sup>66</sup> Christ, p. 848.

<sup>67</sup> Among the effects of dramatic technique upon Heliodorus's narrative method there should perhaps be reckoned the employment of the confidant. The functions of this personage—to take the place of the Chorus in commenting and moralizing the action; to take the place of monologue in enabling the hero to free his mind; to explain an opening situation, or in general τὰ ἔξω τῆς τραγῳδίας, or in particular whatever has happened to the confidant and his interlocutor before their present meeting; to support the hero in affliction and dissuade him from suicide;—these functions are in the "Æthiopica" performed for the most part by Calasiris (cf. Tüchert, pp. 15-17).



Longus tells his plain tale in chronological order, except, of course, that he reserves the revelation of Daphnis and Chloe's parentage. He strives after no effects alien to legitimate narrative, allows the succession of the seasons to carry the story along, and relates things when they occur, regardless of involution or complication, retardation or suspense. His episodes—the Metamorphosis of the Ring-dove (I. xxvii); Philetas's idyl of Love in a Garden (II. xxxvi); the Myth of Pan and Syrinx (II. xxxiv) and of Pan and Echo (III. xxiii); the argument of 'Methymnaeans *vs.* Daphnis' (II. xv-xvi); and the descriptive passages (*ante*, pp. 166-169);—nearly all fall well within the frame of his very simple plot and his very loose idyllic plan. No strict unity is to be expected of a writer who professes to offer only a succession of pictures; and we are again astonished at Longus's moderation.

Achilles Tatius makes Clitophon tell his own story to the listening author, but soon forgets that he has adopted this method: the author, unlike Cnemon, nowhere interrupts the narrative, nor does he "envelope" it at the end, as at the beginning, by resuming his account of himself. Neither does Clitophon carry out consistently his own narrative in the first person: he assumes omniscience wherever Achilles Tatius finds it convenient, and often reports conversations, and thoughts, feelings and motives, some of which he could certainly not have known at the time they occurred, and some of which he could never have known at all. For example, in Book VI:

what happened at the door of the room which had been Clitophon's place of confinement, after the return of the slave-girl who guided him out of the house (ii); the conversation between Thersander and Sosthenes (iii-iv); Melitta's shrewd plan and her speeches to Thersander (viii-xi); what Thersander and Sosthenes did and said before entering the cottage (xv, xvii). But though Achilles Tatius is not master, in the large, of this dramatic method of telling his story, he several times displays dramatic art of no mean order<sup>68</sup> in choosing persons to relate its incidents. It is from her mother Panthea that Leucippe learns of the escape of Clio (II. xxviii); it is Melitta herself who, not knowing Leucippe, tells her that Clitophon has been faithful (V. xxii); and it is Leucippe, who, unaware that Thersander is listening to her soliloquy, informs him that there has been no adultery between Clitophon and Melitta (VI. xvi). In every case the words gain in force from the speaker, the situation, and the hearer. This narrative, moreover, which makes such effective occasional use of dramatic situation, is quite unhampered by the conventions of the epic. It begins at the beginning, follows, for the most part, the chronological order, and never puzzles the reader. Its straightforward *ordonnance* naturally aids the author in taking care of his time-relations, which, indeed, he has accurately thought out in detail. The flight of Clitophon and Leucippe with Clinias, their shipwreck,

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *ante*, pp. 154, 160.—The rôle of confidant, in "Clitophon and Leucippe," is divided among Clinias, Satyrus, and Menelaus.

the rescue of Clinias, and his return to Tyre—together occupy precisely *five* days; so that Clinias, having given out that he was to be in the country *ten* days, finds it easy to allay suspicion, and prevent his complicity in the elopement from transpiring. *Two* days after Clinias, Hippias returns from the journey on which he was absent when Clitophon and Leucippe eloped. Upon his arrival he finds waiting for him his half-brother's letter, which arrived just *one* day after the elopement (V. x).—The deviations from chronological order are both made in the interest of suspense: the mystery of the supposed decapitation of Leucippe (V. vii) is not cleared up till within a few chapters of the end (VIII. xv); the *novella* of Callisthenes and Calligone, suspended at the latter's abduction (II. xviii), is not resumed till VIII. xvii, and not completed till the last chapter of all, where it is again brought into line with the main plot, contemporaneously with which it ends.

This *novella* is bound to the main plot by a single thread, but a very strong one: the abduction of Calligone renders impossible her marriage to Clitophon as planned, and permits the successful prosecution of his love-affair with Leucippe. In so far, it is not so irrelevant as the *novella* of Cnemon, in the "Æthiopica."<sup>69</sup> But in the number and the bulk of his irrelevancies Achilles Tatius far exceeds Heliodorus; if the "Æthio-

<sup>69</sup> The irrelevancy of Cnemon's story is disguised. He tells the instalments at so many places in the course of the main plot that the *novella* as a whole has the appearance of being structurally interwoven with it.



pica" is about a quarter out of its frame, "Clitophon and Leucippe" must be nearly half out. Only one possible artistic purpose can be served by these divagations,—that of retardation and suspense,—an effect which the interruption of main plot by episode or *novella*, and of episode or *novella* by main plot, and of any or all by digression, excursus and expansion, may produce now and then. But such is the mass, and such the damnable iteration, of the irrelevancies in "Clitophon and Leucippe," that for the most part they simply put the reader out of patience. Some of the chief of them having already been discussed will now be only recapitulated; others will be noted more fully, and certain of their peculiarities pointed out. The majority may be roughly classified as Irrelevancies of Plot, Irrelevancies of Characterization, and Irrelevancies of Setting—a rough and overlapping classification which will leave an important group to be treated as a supplementary class: Irrelevant Science and Pseudo-Science.

*Irrelevancies of Plot.*—The episode of Clinias's favorite Charicles, of the compulsory marriage proposed for him,<sup>70</sup> and of his death by a fall from his horse<sup>71</sup> (I. vii–viii; xii–xiv), does not touch the plot at a single point: it does not even appear that Clinias was the more willing to leave Tyre because of his friend's death. Equally un-

<sup>70</sup> Which in turn gives occasion to a tirade against women and marriage.

<sup>71</sup> Which in turn gives occasion to three displays of rhetoric,—the description of the runaway horse, and the lamentations for the youth by his father and by Clinias respectively.

connected with the plot is the corresponding episode of Menelaus's favorite, whom Menelaus accidentally killed in an endeavor to save him from a boar (II. xxxiv). The digressions on the origin of wine (II. ii) and on the discovery of the purple dye (II. xi) have no better pretext than that a wine-cup is used at a feast, and that a purple robe is part of the wedding-outfit. Conops and his amusing interchange of Aesopic fables with Satyrus play no part whatever. Conops does not hinder, nor does his defeat in this skirmish of wits promote, the rendezvous or the elopement: at the last moment he just happens to be out of the way, absent on an errand (II. xx-xxii, xxxi). The shipwreck of the eloping party (III. iv) and the consequent hiring of another vessel by Clitophon and Leucippe to take them to Alexandria (III. ix) are of exceedingly doubtful relevancy. Clitophon and Leucippe were on a ship bound for Alexandria anyway; so that —(eliminating the shipwreck)—the Herdsmen's attack might just as well have been made upon the original ship at the same point in its voyage up the Nile. It may plausibly be urged that the wreck *has* an effect upon the plot in that it separates Clitophon and Leucippe from their companions; that the Herdsmen consequently, capturing our pair at a different time and place from Menelaus and Satyrus, are unaware that the prisoners are all friends; and hence are willing to entrust to Menelaus and Satyrus the task of sacrificing Leucippe—a willingness which proves to be her salvation. But such a separation of the

party might just as easily have been brought about during the confusion incident to the Herdsmen's capture of the original ship. Furthermore, why should Clitophon and Leucippe, wrecked at Pelusium, go on to Alexandria at all? It is only accident (II. xxxi) that makes Alexandria their destination in the first place; so that, if the ship that happens to be bound thither is wrecked, they have no particular purpose in going thither alone. If, then, the author wished them to go to Alexandria, and to be exposed to the attack of river-pirates on the way, he might much more plausibly have left them on their first ship, adhering with some sort of probability to the destination which chance had assigned them. The wreck had better have been left out. Of course, the omission would have deprived Achilles Tatius of numerous show-pieces: the storm, the fight for the boats, Clinias riding the waves, Clitophon's prayer to Poseidon, and the statue and the paintings at Pelusium.—Charmides's reinforcements are delayed by the appearance of the Phoenix (III. xxiv-xxv),—a delay which has no effect one way or the other upon the expedition, has no further connection with the story, and is obviously introduced to give occasion for an account of the Phoenix itself, one degree further removed from relevancy. The story of Philomela (V. vi) is uncalled for, given the painting (*ante*, p. 174). Between the first court-scene (VII. vii-xii) and the second (VIII. viii-xi) the idea comes to Thersander that he will challenge Leucippe and Melitta to the ordeal; this he threatens in the



temple (VIII. ii); and this he has in reserve throughout the second trial. The moment he actually makes the challenge (VIII. xi) he renders nugatory the three preceding chapters of forensic display: his own attack (viii), the Priest's defence (ix) and Sopater's supplementary attack (x). These speeches have nothing whatever to do with the course of the story; there is no pretense that the decision is influenced by them; in fact the decision is taken out of court altogether and left to divine judgment; they are words,—words and nothing more. So of the *dubbio* (II. xxxv–xxxviii) on boys and women: it has “nothing to do with the case.” Nothing leads to it, nothing depends upon it; it leads to no choice, and is the outcome of no choice. Clitophon introduces it merely to make talk.<sup>72</sup> All these irrele-

<sup>72</sup> The difference between a relevant and an irrelevant *débat* appears neatly if the above be contrasted with (a) the argument between Clitophon and Melitta, upon her prayer that he yield to her (A. T., V. xv–xvi); (b) the argument between Theagenes and Chariclea of the question whether she shall disclose her identity to Hydaspes (Æth., IX. xxiii); (c) the argument between Daphnis and Dorco of the question which is the more beautiful (D. & C., I. xv–xvii);—decided by Chloe, who gives the victor a kiss. This last *débat*, though a part of Courier's fragment and hence unknown to the Renaissance, is of special interest. The dispute itself—(the familiar amoeboeic pastoral contest)—and its subject—(the beauty of the contestants)—are of the old world; the judge—(a young girl loved by the contestants), and the reward—(her favor)—are of the new world that will produce the Courts of Love.—A regular love-*dubbio*, with judge and decision complete, occurs in Iamblichus, “Babylonica,” viii: To one of her three lovers a girl gives her cup, to another the wreath from her head, to the third a kiss. They submit to an old man, an expert, the question which has been most favored. He decides for the third.

vancies of plot,—and the list is not exhaustive,—are attributable both to the author's desire for rhetorical display, greater than that of Heliodorus; and to the equal looseness of his fabric, which will hold in its mesh as much of the fortuitous, the unexpected and the immaterial as he may be tempted to insert.<sup>73</sup>

*Irrelevancies of Characterization* in Achilles Tatius have been discussed (*ante*, pp. 144–145). Their most frequent form, it has been observed, is the needless analysis of “psychological” commonplace—another kind of show-piece. I cite again a few of the more striking instances: (II. xxix) Leucippe's state of mind under her mother's reproof. (III. xi) Excessive sorrow chokes the fountain of tears. (III. xiv) A tale of woe begets sympathy, and sympathy begets friendship. (V. xiii) The impression left by the image of the beloved. Love so fills the lover as to leave no room for food! (VI. xix) The workings of anger and desire. (VII. iv) Why tears do not follow immediately upon grievous news (cf. III. xi, *supra*). (I. vi) Why Clitophon could not sleep. (VII. vii) Sympathetic effect of tears upon a spectator explained.

*Irrelevancies of Setting* have also been dis-

<sup>73</sup> Achilles Tatius is no more able than Heliodorus to refrain from “orations.” Besides the six tirades in the two trial-scenes, already cited (VII. vii–xi; VIII. viii–x), we have Clitophon's jingling answer to Leucippe's letter (V. xx), Melitta's set speech on Rumor and Calumny (VI. x), Charmides's reply to Menelaus (IV. xi), Leucippe's fine invective against Thersander and Sosthenes (VI. xxi–xxii), and Melitta's last impassioned plea to Clitophon (V. xxv–xxvi).

cussed (*ante*, pp. 165-6, 169-176) in their form of geographical and descriptive show-pieces. I recapitulate these and other "pictures *hors texte*."

(I. i) The double harbor of Sidon. The painting of Europa. (xii) Charicles's runaway horse. (xv) The Garden.

(II. iii) The crystal wine-cup. (xi) The necklace and the purple robe. (xiv) Geographical marvels: the Sicilian spring, etc. (xv) The sumptuous sacrifice.

(III. i-iv) The storm, the shipwreck, the battle for the boats. (vii-viii) The statue of Zeus; the painting of Perseus and Andromeda; the painting of Prometheus.

(IV. xi-xiii) The Nile and the Herdsmen's islands (description mostly irrelevant—all that matters being the immediate surroundings of Nicochis).

(V. i-ii) The City of Alexandria. (iii) The painting of Philomela. (vi) The Pharos.

(VI. vii) Leucippe's tears.

*Irrelevant Science and Pseudo-Science*.—Medicine: (IV. x) Diagnosis and details of treatment of Leucippe's illness.

Acoustics and Music: (VIII. vi) Construction of Pan's pipes.

Aesthetics: (II. xxxvi) The essence of pleasure is evanescence.

Psychology: (VI. vi) The mind not invisible, because mirrored in the face. (And see *Irrelevancies of Characterization*).

Strategy: (III. xiii) Strategic development of skirmish—heavy troops, light troops, cavalry;



(IV. xiii-xiv) The brigands' stratagem on the causeway at Nicochis. Both of these, like the similar passages in Heliodorus, are not so much irrelevant as over-expanded.<sup>74</sup>

Zoology: (III. xxv) The Phoenix; (IV. ii-iii) The Hippopotamus; (iv-v) The Elephant; (xix) The Crocodile; (I. xviii) The Viper and the Lamprey.

Physics: (I. xvii) The magnet and the iron.

Botany: (I. xvii) The Palm-tree and his mate.

Here let there be recalled from Heliodorus "The stone Pantarbe," which possesses the virtue of protecting its wearer from fire (U 221, 223; VIII. ix, xi), and "the Æthiopian Amethyst," which "will not lette him be drunke in deede, that weareth him, but keepeth him sober at all feastes." (U 134; V. xiii); as well as "The bird Charadrius" and "The serpent Basiliscus" (U 86-7; III. vii-viii). For Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius possess in common a notable trait, which is of the coming world, the world that will produce "Bestiaries," "Volucraries," "Lapidaries"—and Euphuism. Already these authors express a peculiar relation between the supposed phenomena

<sup>74</sup> Certainly they are so if we apply a standard furnished by Achilles Tatius himself at IV. xviii. There, in a single sentence, he tells us that "meanwhile,"—*ἐν τούτῳ* (i. e., while Leucippe was being cured)—quite incidentally, as it were, the robbers were exterminated, and the Nile rendered safe for travellers. He thus cavalierly dismisses a process the unsuccessful attempts at which have cost an army, and have extended in time over more than one eighth of his whole narrative (III. xiii; IV. xviii), a book and more. The fact seems to be that he is tired of campaigning, and would rather talk about something else. His brevity here is as disproportionate as was his former detailed expansion.

of nature and the mental life of man,—employing such phenomena not only by way of metaphor and simile—the storm as a figure of wrath, the fox as a proverb of cunning—but by way of explanation and argument. Calasiris suggests to Charicles that Chariclea, who has just fallen lovesick, has been fascinated by an evil eye. An envious eye, he says, fills the air with subtle venom which penetrates the victim's pores. There are analogies: persons are often infected by merely breathing the same air with a sick person; love enters the soul through the eye. "I will bring for examples sake some reason out of the holy bookes, gathered of the consideration of nature. Charadrius healeth those that have the Kinges evill [mistranslation: should be *jaundice*], which birde flieth away as soone as any that hath this disease hath spied her, and turneth her taile toward him, shutteth her eyes. Not as some say because she would not help him, but that in looking upon him, she draweth that evill disease unto her by nature, and therefore she declineth such sight as a present perill. And perhaps you have heard how the serpent Basiliscus, with his onelie breath and looke, doth drye up and corrupte all that it passeth by" (U 86-7; III. vii-viii).<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Heliodorus almost certainly got this passage from Plutarch "Quaest. Conviv.," V. vii, 2 (Teubner, Vol. 4, p. 201), where the same virtue and habits are attributed to the Charadrius, the language is similar, and the context the same: viz. a discussion of "fascination," with the familiar phenomena of love and the habits of the Charadrius adduced as analogies. From Plutarch, too, the "Physiologus" in all probability got the basis for its account of Charadrius: brought into the presence of any sick person, the

Clitophon's citation of supposed natural phenomena is likewise argumentative: (I. xvii-xviii). 'The palm-tree languishes for his mate; the iron is drawn to the magnet by desire; the viper and the lamprey most strangely love': *ergo*—so runs the plain conclusion—'do thou love me, Leucippe.'

So far as irrelevancy is not just the unintended product of a careless unarchitectonic habit of mind, so far as it is adverted to and intentional at all, it rests upon a common basis with paradox. Both defeat expectation;—the one by turning the expectant mind away from the continuation it looks for, and toward a continuation that is not essentially connected with what precedes; the other by the surprising nature of its own content. In both its phases,—irrelevancy and paradox—this element of *the unexpected*, prominent in the form as in the matter of the Greek Romances, deserves attention. To turn aside to the irrelevant; to strain suspense by retarding the expected outcome; to introduce by the way—all un-

bird foretells his recovery or his death according as it looks toward him or away from him. (Text of "Physiologus" in Lauchert, "Geschichte des Physiologus," p. 232.) If Lauchert is right (p. 42) in dating the "Physiologus" early in the second century A.D., it preceded Heliodorus.—Charadrius is a favorite of the Bestiaries. Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume le Clerc, Hugues de St. Victor, the "Younger" German Physiologus, "Le Bestiaire d'Amour" of Richard de Fournival, and others, give an account of him substantially as in the "Physiologus." See Lauchert, *op. cit.*; Reinsch, ed. "Le Bestiaire—das Thierbuch des normannischen Dichters Guillaume le Clerc"; Hippeau, ed. "Le Bestiaire d'Amour," text, and note p. 112 ff, which cites other authors. The passage in Heliodorus is not mentioned by any of these writers, but is quoted by Elworthy, "The Evil Eye," p. 33.



looked for—as many bizarre, ironical, paradoxical situations and dazzling phrases as possible; and finally to “spring” an issue which is itself a surprising combination of opposites—all these would seem to be consistent results of adopting the unexpected as the principle of the *genre*. We proceed, then, to the consideration of *paradox* (τὸ παράδοξον—“the contrary-to-expectation”).

That our writers seek it consciously is evident. They are continually speaking of their situations as “new and strange” (καινός), “against reason” (παράλογος), “unthought of” (ἀδόκητος), “against all expectation or hope” (παρ’ ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν or παρὰ ἐλπίδας), “sudden, impromptu” (αὐτοσχέδιος), “unforeseen” (ἀπροσδόκητος), “paradoxical” or “contrary to expectation” (παρὰ δόξαν and παράδοξος). So of the fight between mariners and their own passengers—“a new sort of sea-fight” (“A. T.,” III. iii); the sudden marriage of Cnemon to the daughter of Nausicles (“Æth.,” VI. viii); Leucippe’s several marvellous escapes (“A. T.,” VII. xiii); Daphnis’s escape from pirates and shipwreck (“D. & C.,” I. xxxi); the surprising war and the equally surprising peace between Methymne and Mytilene (“D. & C.,” III. iii); the kiss Daphnis got from Chloe—the result of his lucky admission to the house of Dryas (“D. & C.,” III. viii); the unexpected end of the projected marriage between Clitophon and Calligone (“A. T.,” I. xviii). Nor do the Romancers ignore the part played by Fortune in bringing about such situations. According to Oroöndates (“Aeth.,” IX. xxi), it is lucky

opportunity (καιρός) which enables a soldier to perform μέγα τι . . . καὶ παράδοξον. The pirates (V. xxix) bring from their ship rich tables, vessels, and fabrics; "wealth which others had gathered by dint of care and sparing, but which was now unsparingly and uncaringly set forth, Fortune delivering it to the insolences of a drinking-bout." And when the antitheses of this same situation issue in the further paradox of a feast turning into a fight (I. i), why then it is ὁ δαίμων (no need to ask *which* divinity) who "shewed a wonderful sight in so shorte time, bruining bloude with wine, joyning battaile with banketting, mingling indifferently slaughters with drinkings, and killings with quaffings" (U 10). Clitophon, hearing that he has the consent of Leucippe's father to marry her, "cried out upon Fortune's caprice. . . . After death, marriage; after the dirge, the nuptial hymn! And what a bride does Fortune grant me! One whose corpse she has not even granted me entire!" ("A. T.," V. xi). Some other paradoxes and antitheses not expressly attributed to Fortune may be enumerated. When Thyamis assists Theagenes and Chariclea, "surely this deed was not without much glorie, for hee, who was their maister waited upon them, and he who tooke them prisoners, was content to serve them" (U 13-14). Sisimithres shows Charicles the jewels belonging to Chariclea. Upon Charicles's declining to buy them because he is not rich enough, "Why saide he [Sisimithres], if you be not able to buy them yet are you able to take them if they be given you. . . . I will give you all these

things, if you will take them, beside another gifte, which farre excelleth them all"—viz., Chariclea herself (U 70-71). Near the end, Hydaspes addresses Chariclea as "My daughter . . . whose beautie is peerless to no purpose, and hast found thy parents in vaine, which hast in an ill time hapned upon thine owne countrey, worse to thee then any strange lande, who hast bene safe in other countreyes, but art in danger of death in thine owne" (U 272-3). Chariclea's own paradoxes and self-contradictions in this scene (X. xxii) have been quoted (*ante*, p. 140 *q. v.*); and at the close (X. xxxviii), the gods, it is said, "made very contrarye things agree, and joyned sorrow and mirth, teares and laughter together, and turned fearefull and terrible things into a joyfull banquette in the ende. Many that weapt beganne to laugh, and such as were sorrowfull to rejoyce, when they founde that they sought not for, and lost that they hoped to finde; and to be shorte, the cruell slaughters which were looked for every momente, were turned into holy sacrifice" (U 288).—A paradoxical antithetical ending which is, deliberately, one feels, set over against the paradoxical antithetical beginning: in the one, feasting turned into slaughter; in the other, slaughter turned into feasting.

A special case of paradox is what may, very broadly, be termed Irony. The unexpected fulfilment of an oracle or a dream, the bringing about of an event by the very means taken to prevent it, the prevention or cure of one evil by another, the turning of an apparent evil into a



blessing, or the reverse, these and other such contrasts possess an intenser, a more concentrated flavor, as it were, than the cases just noticed. An event the occurrence of which has merely not been expected, is less piquant than an event which has actively been designed *not* to occur. When Thyamis dreams that Isis gives him Chariclea with the words "Though you have her, you shall not have her; though you kill your guest, you shall not kill her,"—he interprets the dream (itself paradoxical enough) in a way to suit his hopes. Then, by his own action in concealing Chariclea in the cave *for safety*, and in stabbing Thisbe supposing her to be Chariclea, he fulfils the dark saying (I. xviii, xxviii–xxx).<sup>76</sup> The sorceress on the battle-field at Bessa, in her attempt to *frustrate* her dead son's prediction by killing the witnesses of her necromancy, is herself killed, and so accomplishes the prediction (VI. xv).<sup>76</sup> Taken by the Ethiopians, Theagenes and Chariclea are escorted "in captive guise, by those destined ere long to be their subjects" (B. 204, VIII. xvii). Shortly after, their captors "fitted for them fetters of gold. Theagenes laughed and said: Good lorde, whence commeth this trim chaunge? Truely, fortune flattereth us wonderfully, we chaunge yron for gold, and in prison we are inriched, so that wee bee worth more in our bandes" (IX. ii; U 234)—a speech ironical in the ordinary sense, and aware, too, of the agency of Fortune in bringing about ironical

<sup>76</sup> These are cases of "dramatic irony" (cf. e. g., the plot of the "Oedipus Tyrannus"), and may be credited to the influence of tragedy upon Heliodorus.

situations. In the great scene of reunion under the walls of Memphis (VIII. vii) it has already been observed (*ante*, p. 188) how the very course which Calasiris took to frustrate the oracle—viz., his retirement to Delphi—brought him in contact with the fortunes of Theagenes and Chariclea, which in turn took him back to Memphis at the appointed time.<sup>77</sup> The happy ending comes about most ironically of all. In order that Theagenes may be saved from the sacrifice, the fact that he is Chariclea's husband must be revealed, and the priest Charicles does reveal it; but his disclosure takes the form of the capital charge that Theagenes has violated the altar of Apollo by abducting Chariclea! Thus the fact which saves Theagenes appears in a form which threatens to ruin him (X. xxxvi-xxxvii).—In Longus there is very little irony,—in fact, very little place for it. The episode of the Methymnaeans, which at first leads to the beating of Daphnis and the abduction of Chloe (II. xiv, xx), afterward helps to bring about the young people's happiness; as the money lost by the Methymnaeans enables Daphnis to sue successfully for Chloe's hand (III. xxvii-xxxii). Megacles suffers "the irony of Fate" in that, as he says, "Wealth began to pour in upon me when I had no heir to enjoy it;" moreover, the paradox of his dreams is unexpectedly fulfilled: "as if wishing to make a mock of me, the gods are continually sending dreams by night, signifying, forsooth, that a ewe will make me a father" (B 345; IV. xxxv)—In

<sup>77</sup> See p. 214 n. 76.

"Clitophon and Leucippe" irony appears often, but on rather a small scale: there is no large grasp of events extending over broad times and spaces,—like that which, in the "*Æthiopica*," brings Calasiris to Memphis, or balances the end of the story against the beginning. Achilles Tatius puts closer together the expectation and its defeat. The event portended by the eagle (II. xiii)—*i. e.*, the abduction of the bride—takes place at the sacrifice intended to avert it (II. xviii). Whereas Panthea's dream (II. xxiii) imported the actual disembowelment of Leucippe, and by robbers, the event is in fact only an apparent disembowelment, which is performed by friends, and is the means of delivering her from the robbers (III. xv, xx-xxii). In the same way, her apparent decapitation, really the decapitation of another woman, leads to the quarrel between Chaereas and the pirates, which issues in the murder of Chaereas, and in Leucippe's escape from him (V. vii; VIII. xvi). Her mental derangement is another blessing in disguise, in that it effectually prevents the prosecution of Charmides's designs against her (IV. ix ff.).

There are a few instances of *verbal* irony. Satyrus remarks, in relating how Clitophon has declined Melitta's offers (V. xi), "I suppose he thinks Leucippe will come to life again,"—which is virtually what does happen (V. xvii). When Sosthenes tells Leucippe that all is going well—that Thersander is madly in love with her and may possibly even marry her—, the irony of her



reply "May the gods requite you with equal joy!" seems to be quite lost upon him (VI. xi-xii). Exceedingly *bizarre*, whether in any proper sense ironical or not, is the situation where Clitophon is tried, and upon his own confession is condemned, for the murder of a person whom he loves, who is alive all the time, and who during part of the time is actually present in court (VII. vi-xiii; VIII. ix).

Certain special situations containing the materials for antithesis and paradox are of such frequent occurrence in the Greek Romances as to deserve particular mention. Of these, one is the contrast between marriage and death. Charicles' daughter died on her wedding-night: "The marriage Song, not yet ended, was turned to mourning; and she was carried out of her Bride-bedde into her grave: and the tapers that gave her light at her wedding, did now serve to kindle her funerall fire"<sup>78</sup> (U 69-70; II. xxix). Hydaspes uses almost the same words to Chariclea: "follow thy father, who cannot provide a marriage for thee, nor bring thee to bedde in any costlie bowers, but make thee ready for sacrifice, and beare before thee, not such tapers as are used at bridalles, but appointed for sacrifice" (U 272-3, X. xvi). Chariclea on the pyre is said to lie like a bride upon a fiery bed (VIII. ix). To Thyamis, Chariclea dissemblingly says: "We have good cause . . . to accompt ourselves happy, because some God hath brought us into your hands, where those who feared death, have

<sup>78</sup> Cf. "Romeo and Juliet," IV. v, particularly the speeches of Capulet; and see Sophocles, "Antigone," *passim*.

now space to thinke on marriage" (U 32; I. xxii). In "Clitophon and Leucippe," the father of the dead youth Charicles laments over his son's body: "When, my son, will you wed? when shall I make your nuptial sacrifice, o luckless bridegroom? The grave is your bridal bed, death your marriage, mourning your shout of Hymen, and this dirge your nuptial hymn. . . . O fatal torches, not of marriage, but of the tomb!" (A. T., I. xiii). This gives the imagery complete, with the antitheses presented by the situation all fully developed; so that it will suffice merely to list the four other similar passages. Apostrophizing Leucippe, who has been captured by robbers, Clitophon cries, 'Αντὶ δ' ὕμεναίων τίς σοι τὸν θρῆνον ἄδει (III. x). Andromeda in the picture, exposed to her death, is "robed like a bride" (VIII. vii). Clitophon's lament for Leucippe when he receives word that her father consents to their marriage, has been quoted (*ante*, p. 212; V. xi: Μετὰ θάνατον γάμοι, μετὰ θρῆνον ὕμεναιοι κτλ.). The same contrast forms the basis of Melitta's jest-in-earnest, Κενοτάφιον μὲν γὰρ εἶδον, κενογάμιον δ' οὐ (V. xiv).

A second stock rhetorical antithesis is found in the contrast, under various aspects and circumstances, of land and water.<sup>79</sup> Gorgias, who in-

<sup>79</sup> In the form, "a sea-fight on land and a land-battle at sea," this antithesis was one of the traditional purple patches of Greek and Roman rhetoric. Norden, "Antike Kunstprosa," pp. 385, 437, gives its history, beginning with Gorgias, and citing no less than thirteen imitators, among whom "endlich hat Himerios eine wahrhaft diabolische Freude daran"! Akin to it is the combination of *water* with *fire* in the Sicilian spring (A. T., II. xiv). "Un autre

vented it, applied it to Xerxes' battle with the Greeks. In the "*Æthiopica*," the Nile having been admitted to the moat around Syene, "thus was Syene made an Island, and a citie which standeth in the middest of a country, was compassed about with water, and beaten upon soare with the waves of Nylus. . . . Truly this was a strange sight, that a shippe should sayle from wall to wall, and a Marryner shoulde practice his skill in the middest of the drye lande, and a boate be rowed where the plowe was woont to worke. And although the toile of warre ever deviseth new thinges, yet then invented it the straungest thing, when it made those that were in ships, fight with them that stode upon the walles, and joyned two armies by sea and land together" (U 236-7; IX. iv-v). The corresponding passage in Achilles Tatius, describing the Nile in flood, is enormously elaborated, following into detail the contrast between nautical operations and utensils on the one hand, and agricultural operations and utensils on the other. It bristles with antitheses (A. T. IV. xii). So of the situation of Tyre on an island reached by a causeway: "Strange sight—a city at sea and an island ashore" (II. xiv). Again, the peculiar circumstances of the

de nos Poètes, repliqua Philanthe, dit, en faisant la description d'un naufrage causé par l'embarquement du navire: 'Soldats & matelots roulés confusement, Par un double malheur périssent doublement; L'un se brûle dans l'onde, au feu l'autre se noye, Et tout en même temps de deux morts sont la proye.'—Ce vers, 'L'un se brûle dans l'onde, au feu l'autre se noye,' ressemble assez au vôtre, 'Doute si l'oiseau nage, ou si le poisson vole.' " Bouhours, "*La Manière de Bien Penser dans les Ouvrages d'Esprit*," 3me Dialogue, pp. 346-7 (Paris, 1695).



battle with the Herdsmen brought about "a new sort of disaster—a shipwreck but nowhere a ship. Both these events were new and unthinkable: a land-battle in the water, and a shipwreck on the land!" (IV. xiv).

The third of these tricks of rhetoric, chargeable, like the second, to Gorgias, is the bold metaphor that is famous because Longinus condemned it (De Subl., III. 2): "Vultures,—living tombs" (Γύπες ἔμψυχοι ταφοί). This would naturally come to be applied to any living thing that had devoured another. Thus, in Ovid *Met.*, VI. 445, Tereus calls himself the tomb of his son Itys.<sup>80</sup> Achilles Tatius (III. v) makes Clitophon, as he floats on the wreckage with Leucippe, pray to Poseidon: 'Let one wave overwhelm us, or one fish swallow us both, and be our common tomb.' Again (III. xvi) Clitophon laments Leucippe's entrails, which he supposes to have been eaten by the robbers: ἡ τῶν σπλάγχνων σου ταφή ληστῶν γέγονε τροφή—a conceit all the more disgusting because gratuitous.

It is evident that we have here entered the

<sup>80</sup> Cited by Norden, *op. cit.*, 385, with numerous other occurrences of the metaphor. In the "Gerusalemme Liberata" (XII. 78-79), Tancred about to return to Clorinda's corpse fancies that it may have been devoured by a wild beast: if so, he wishes that he may be devoured by the same, and rest with her in one tomb! Bouhours, *op. cit.*, 3me Dialogue, p. 393, discusses this and other conceits. The vitality of Gorgias's metaphor is illustrated by a whimsical story in *McClure's Magazine* for March, 1909, "Bibi Steinfeld's Hunting," p. 480 ff: a widow whose husband has been eaten by a lion captures the animal, keeps him alive, and places about his neck a collar inscribed with an epitaph which ends "Ruhe Sanft."

province of wholly artificial rhetoric. Together with circumstances or events which by their nature afford the material of the unexpected,—a contrast, a bit of irony, an antithesis, a surprise—, we now find events and circumstances which, commonplace in themselves, are by artifice analysed into antithetical elements, and forced to yield up a conceit. Such is the situation of Tyre—a city on an island connected with the mainland by a causeway. What of it? Nothing;—except to a mind already infected by Gorgias's conceit of 'Land versus Water,' and desirous of emulating it. But that mind quickly cuts in two the single concept of the situation of Tyre, and then sets over against each other the results of the dichotomy. We turn to a brief consideration of such artifices, employed where material for the unexpected is giving out, and the conceit has become largely verbal.

Two chief types have already been exemplified. In the one, which may be called "Oxymoron," X and Y, being opposite, or at least disconnected, in fact or in their associations (like land and water, or death and marriage), are *combined*. In the other, which may be called "Antithesis" proper, X and Y are set over against each other, and *kept apart*. The two types, though distinct enough at their centres, merge at their edges. Where, for instance, X a noun is modified by Y an adjective, the resulting concept, though self-contradictory, is single: this is a clear case of Oxymoron (*e. g.*, the "freezing flame," "burning ice," "sweet pain," and "grievous joy" of

the Petrarchists). Where X and Y are in separate sentences or clauses, or where, in the same sentence or clause, they are avowedly contrasted, the case is an equally clear one of Antithesis (e. g., "the marriage Song . . . was turned to mourning" *ante*, p. 217). On the border line,—as where X in a phrase modifies a clause which ends in Y—occur numerous cases which may plausibly be classified either way. The device itself being largely verbal, these syntactical distinctions are not so unimportant as they may seem. That they are, in fact, essential, will appear when to the trick of Antithesis and Oxymoron we find the rhetorician adding Balance in grammatical structure. The following cases,<sup>81</sup> then, are arranged, roughly, according to the increasing syntactical and logical separation of X and Y.

(1) X noun modified by Y adjective.

A. T., V. i. In Alexandria there is an *ἐνδημος ἀποδημία*—a *stay-at-home migration*; (either because of the great population, which would constitute as it were an intramural *Völkerwanderung*, or because of the great size of the city, which

<sup>81</sup> Nearly all from Achilles Tatius, who very fully exemplifies this *estilo alto*. The passages given here, which were gathered independently, are abundantly confirmed by those quoted and referred to in Norden, *op. cit.*, 434–442. Norden also corroborates my opinion that Heliodorus is less artificial in style than either Longus or Achilles Tatius ("Heliodorus ist ausser Xenophon v. Ephesos am sparsamsten mit seinen Kunstmitteln." *Ib.*, 439<sup>3</sup>, and cf. 435<sup>2</sup>); and his quotations and citations from "Daphnis and Chloe" exhibiting the same rhetorical devices make it needless for me to extend the present discussion specifically to Longus. Achilles Tatius may serve as the type of the rhetorician-romancer.



would allow of a journey abroad, as it were, though the traveller remained at home.)

A. T., II. ii. "What is this *purple water*? Where did you get this *sweet blood*?"

A. T., III. vii. The painter has adorned Andromeda *εὐμόρφῳ φόβῳ*.

A. T., IV. xii. The flooded banks of the Nile become, so to speak, an *arable sea*—*πέλαγος γεωργούμενον*.

(2) X noun subject of Y verb.

A. T., VI. vii. When a beautiful eye weeps, the *tears smile*. (*τὰ δὲ δάκρυα . . . γελᾷ*.)

A. T., II. vii. Leucippe must carry a bee upon her lips: full of honey, her *kisses sting*: *τιτρώσκει σου τὰ φιλήματα*.

A. T., II. xxxiv. Menelaus at the death of his favorite feels *ὡς ἂν ἄλλος τις ἀποθάνοι ζῶν*.

(3) X verb modified by Y adverb, or its equivalent.

A. T., V. xiv. Melitta *jested in earnest*—*ἐπαιξε σπουδῇ*.

A. T., V. xx. Clitophon's answer to Leucippe's letter: I am unhappy in my happiness: *Δυστυχῶ μὲν ἐν οἷς εὐτυχῶ*.

A. T., II. xxiv. Panthea to Leucippe: *ἀδοξεῖς ἐν οἷς δυστυχεῖς*.

(4) X verb takes object Y noun.

Æth., VI. viii; U 162-3. "Lette us *singe teares . . . and daunce lamentations*": *ᾄσωμεν . . . θρήνους καὶ γόους ὑπορχησώμεθα*.

A. T., III. x. ἤδη τὸν θρήνον ἐξορχήσομαι. *ibid.* *μέμφομαί σου τῇ φιλανθρωπῳίᾳ*.

A. T., IV. ix. "We *fear even good luck*": *φοβούμεθα καὶ τὰ εὐτυχήματα*.

(5) X and Y adjectives both modify the same noun.

A. T., V. xx. "I see you present as if absent": σὲ . . . παροῦσαν ὡς ἀποδημοῦσαν ὀρώ.

(6) X (noun) is said to be the Y (noun) of x (noun closely associated with X—*e. g.*, the genus of which X is a species, the material of which X is made, etc.).

A. T., II. i. The rose is the eye of flowers—ὀφθαλμὸς ἀνθέων,<sup>82</sup> and the blush of the meadow—λειμώνος ἐρύθημα.<sup>82</sup>

A. T., I. xv. The peacock's tail shows flowers of feathers—ἄνθη<sup>82</sup> πτερόων.

(7) X and Y verbs have the same subject or object.

A. T., V. iii. Philomela and Procne in the picture simultaneously laugh and fear: γελῶσι δ' ἄμα καὶ φοβοῦνται.

A. T., III. x. ἡμᾶς δὲ σώσασα μᾶλλον ἀπέκτεινας.

<sup>82</sup> "Je ne vous parle pas du Cavalier Marin, . . . qui appelle la rose l'œil du printemps la prunelle de l'Amour, la pourpre des prairies, la fleur des autres fleurs; le rossignol, une voix emplumée, un son volant, une plume harmonieuse; les étoiles, les lampes d'or du firmament, les flambeaux des funérailles du jour, . . . les fleurs immortelles des campagnes célestes. (Quotes the phrases in Marino, but without giving references to the passages in Marino. Italics mine.) . . . Selon votre goût, ajoûta-t-il (*viz.*, Eudoxe to Philanthe), c'est quelque chose de fort beau que ce qu'on a dit d'une belle chanson, que c'est un air qui vole avec des ailes de miel; de la queue du Paon, que c'est une prairie de plumes; and de l'Arc-en-ciel, que c'est le ris du ciel qui pleure, un arc sans flèches, ou qui n'a que de traits de lumière, & qui ne frappe que les yeux.—Ah que cela est joli, s'écria Philanthe!"—Bouhours, *op. cit.*, 3<sup>me</sup> Dialogue, pp. 353-4, 355.

A. T., II. xxii. The gnat speaks: Ἐγὼ δὲ παρὼν οὐ πάρειμι · ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ φεύγω καὶ μένω.

(8) X and Y nouns both predicates of one substantive verb.

A. T., II. xxii. The gnat again: σάλπιγξ δέ μοι καὶ βέλος τὸ στόμα · ὥστ' εἰμὶ καὶ ἀνλητῆς καὶ τοξότης. Ἐμαυτοῦ δ' οἷστος καὶ τόξον γίνομαι.

(9) X subject and Y object of same verb.

Æth., II. iv. Theagenes laments the supposed corpse of Chariclea: οἶμοι, σιωπᾶς, καὶ τὸ μάντικον ἐκείνο καὶ θεήγορον στόμα σίγη κατέχει, καὶ ζόφος τὴν πυρφόρον κατείληφεν. '*Silence possesses that prophetic mouth; and darkness has seized her that bore the flame*').

(10) X in a phrase modifies a clause containing Y.

Æth., V. xxiv; U 143-4. At the approach of the pirates, "all the hulke was moved . . . and in a calme weather had it a great tempest": ἐν τε γαλήνῃ κλύδωνος ἐνέπληστο.

*Ibid.* xxv. U 145. After the encounter between the pirates and the crew, there followed πόλεμος ἔργοις ὁ χαλεπώτατος, εἰρήνης ὀνόματι νόθῳ παραλνόμενος, συνθήκης βαρύτερας πλέον ἢ τῆς μάχης ὀριζομένης: "for all the counterfeited name of peace, it was cruell warre in deed, by reason of the truce . . . more intolerable than the battaile it selfe."

A. T., I. xiv. Clinias to the horse of Charicles: 'In the very act of being praised, you killed him': σὺ δ' ἀπέκτεινας ἐπαινούμενος.

Æth., I. xxix. Cnemon concealing Chariclea in the cave, weeps 'because he has delivered over



to night and darkness that most radiant thing among men—Chariclea': ὅτι . . . τὸ φαιδρότατον τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις Χαρίκλειαν νυκτὶ καὶ ζόφῳ παραδεδωκώς.

(11) X noun receives attribute of Y noun, and Y receives attribute of X.

A. T., II. xiv. A city at sea and an island ashore.

A. T., IV. xiv. A land-battle in the water and a shipwreck on the land.

(12) X in sub-clause modifies main clause containing Y.

A. T., IV. ix. Ὡ δυστυχεῖς ἡμεῖς ὅταν εὐτυχήσωμεν.

A. T., II. xxxvi. ὅσον ἐλαττοῦται [sc. ἡ ἡδονή] τῷ χρόνῳ, τοσοῦτον εἰς μέγεθος ἐκτείνεται πόθῳ.

A. T., IV. xii. Ὁ πέπλευκας, φυτεύεις, καὶ ὁ φυτεύεις, τοῦτο πέλαγος γεωργούμενον. "Where you have sailed, you sow; and where you sow is an arable sea."

(13) X and Y in co-ordinate clauses or sentences.

A. T., I. xv. ἐγένετο τῷ κιττῷ ὄχημα τὸ φυτὸν, στέφανος δ' ὁ κιττὸς τοῦ φῦτου.

A. T., II. xxxvii. Ἡράσθη (sc. ὁ Ζεὺς) μαιρακίου Φρυγὸς, ἀνήγαγεν εἰς οὐρανὸν τὸν Φρύγα· τὸ δὲ κάλλος τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτὸν τὸν Δία κατήγαγεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.

A. T., III. vi. ἔοικε τὸ θέαμα [the picture of Andromeda], εἰ μὲν εἰς τὸ κάλλος ἀπίδοις, ἀγάμματι καινῷ, εἰ δ' εἰς τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ τὸ κῆτος, αὐτοσχεδίῳ τάφῳ.

Æth., IV. viii; U 108. (End of Persina's in-

scription upon Chariclea's fillet). "That I have written, if thou live, shall be tokens to thee (my daughter in vaine beautifull, which by thy beauty procured my blame) of thy birth. But if thou die . . . they shall serve to bury thee": εἰ μὲν περισωθήεις, γνωρίσματα· εἰ δ', ὅπερ καὶ ἀκοὴν λάθοι τὴν ἐμὴν, ἐπιτύμβια.

A. T., V. viii. Clitophon over the headless trunk supposed to be Leucippe's: "In the guise of thy greater part (*i. e.*, the trunk), there is left to me thy smaller part; but the sea, in the little it possesses (*i. e.*, the head), has thee all." Μικρὸν μοί σου μέρος καταλέλειπται ἐν ὧψι τοῦ μερίζονος· αὕτη [*sc.* ἡ θάλασσα] δ' ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸ πᾶν σου κρατεῖ.

(14) X and Y expressly compared (includes last example in 13).

A. T., I. xv. 'Αντέλαμπε δ' ἡ τῶν ἀνθέων θεά τῇ τῶν ὀρνίθων χροίᾳ.

D. & C., I. xxxii. Chloe's bath, which had redoubled her charms, seemed to Daphnis more formidable than the ocean, from which he had just escaped: ἐδόκει τὸ λουτρὸν εἶναι τῆς θαλάσσης φοβερώτερον.

A. T., V. xiii. Ποῖον γὰρ ὄψον μοι πολυτελὲς ἢ ποῖος οἶνος τιμιώτερος τῆς σῆς ὄψεως.

(15) X and Y once fairly apart, several other tricks of antithesis can be brought into play, and of these Achilles Tatius avails himself to the full. It is, for example, a mannerism of his to say that X and Y (persons, things, feelings) rivalled each other, neither gaining the victory. So of Alexandria (V. i): its population vies with its size,

its size rivals its beauty, and its beauty rivals the beauty of the sky. Clinias and the father of Charicles vie with each other in grief (I. xiv); Leucippe's beauty rivals that of the garden (I. xix); the flowers rival the peacock's plumes (I. xv); the odors of incense and of flowers contend (II. xv). Land and water struggle for the possession of Tyre (II. xiv) and of Egypt (IV. xii). The hindfeet of Charicles's horse (I. xii) strive to overtake the forefeet, in a *ποδῶν ἀμιλλη!*

(16) *Conflicting Emotions*.—Another trick of the same author is to attribute conflicting traits or emotions to his personages whenever possible. Andromeda in the picture shows beauty and fear; Prometheus both hopes and fears (III. vii, viii); Philomela and Procne laugh and fear (V. iii). Thersander vacillates between desire and rage (VI. xix) and between grief, anger, and deliberation (VII. i). Clitophon (V. xix) reads Leucippe's letter, and Melitta (V. xxiv) picks up and reads the same letter,—each with conflicting emotions. At II. xxiii and at VI. xiv, there is a repetition of almost the same words, which show plainly how this mannerism is made to yield an antithesis. In the first passage, Clitophon enters Leucippe's chamber, "trembling with double trepidation, of joy and of fear. For the fear of danger confounded my soul's hope, and hope of success hid my fear in pleasure. Thus the hoping part of me was afraid, and the grieving part rejoiced." The other passage, concerning Clitophon in prison, is even neater: "My soul was in the balance between hope and fear, and



the hoping part feared and the fearing part hoped": τὴν ψυχὴν εἶχον ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ἐλπίδος καὶ φόβου, καὶ ἐφοβείτό μοι τὸ ἐλπίζον καὶ ἥλπιζε τὸ φοβούμενον.

(17) *Multiple Antithesis*.—Again, as X and Y separate more and more, it becomes possible to work a double or even triple antithesis, as in the passages just given,—the formula for which would be something like this: X and Y confronted (one clause); X vs. Y (one clause); Y vs. X (one clause); all together forming three co-ordinate clauses, each of which contains X set over against Y, while the second and the third clauses are in addition set over against each other. Further examples of this antithesis *between* antitheses are given above. (See (9), (10), (11), (12), (13).) Among the dangers of this striving after effect may be noted that sometimes, when two things are not opposed at all, the rhetorician nevertheless opposes them for the sake of the jingle. "The trunk was a support to the ivy, and the ivy was a garland to the trunk." (A. T., I. xv. quoted at (13) above). Neither the couple "trunk" and "ivy," nor the couple "support" and "garland," is antithetical in the least.

(18) *Balance; Parallel Structure*.—It is notable too that when X and Y are held apart in separate phrases, clauses, or sentences, the opportunities for *balance* increase. The narrow limits of a single phrase or clause usually permit only the single occurrence of a group of sentence-elements:—preposition + object; conjunction + subject + verb + adverb; and the like. But when

two or more such groups are set parallel, the structure of each may find its double in the structure of the others; and any antithesis within or between them is by such duplication rendered the more striking. For convenient reference I quote again, along with other examples, some passages already given.

A. T., III vii (Painting of Andromeda): *ἔοικε τὸ θέαμα*

⟨*εἰ μὲν εἰς τὸ κάλλος ἀπίδοις, ἀγάλματι καινῷ,  
εἰ δ' εἰς τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ τὸ κῆτος, αὐτοσχεδίῳ τάφῳ.*

A. T., II. xxxvii. Ἡράσθη [sc. ὁ Ζεὺς] μειρακίου Φρυγὸς, ἀνήγαγεν εἰς οὐρανὸν τὸν Φρύγα, τὸ δὲ κάλλος τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτὸν τὸν Δία κατήγαγεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.<sup>83</sup>

A. T., I. xv. ἐγίνετο ⟨*τῷ κιττῷ ὄχημα τὸ φυτὸν,  
στέφανος δ' ὁ κιττὸς τοῦ  
φυτοῦ.*

ἀντέλαμπε δ' ⟨*ἡ τῶν ἀνθέων θέα  
τῇ τῶν ὀρνίθων χροιά.*

A. T., II. xxxvi.

[*ἡ ἡδονή*] ⟨*ὅσον ἐλαττοῦται τῷ χρόνῳ  
τοσοῦτον εἰς μέγεθος  
ἐκτείνεται πόθῳ.*

A. T., VI. xiv. τὴν ψυχὴν εἶχον ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ἐλπίδος καὶ φόβου, ⟨*καὶ ἐφοβείτό μοι τὸ ἐλπίζον  
καὶ ἥλπιζε τὸ φοβούμενον.*

A. T., II. xxiii. ἐγὼ δ' εἰσῆιν, . . . τρέμων τρόμον διπλοῦν, χᾶρας ἅμα καὶ φόβον.

⟨*ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κινδύνου φόβος ἐθορύβει τὰς τῆς  
ψυχῆς ἐλπίδας,  
ἡ δ' ἐλπίς τοῦ τυχεῖν ἐπεκαλύπτειν ἡδονῇ του  
φόβον.*

<sup>83</sup> "He raised a mortal to the skies,  
She drew an angel down."

οὕτω  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{καὶ τὸ ἐλπίζον ἐφοβεῖτό μου} \\ \text{καὶ ἔχαιρε τὸ λυπούμενον.} \end{array} \right.$

A. T., VIII. viii.

Ὅταν μὲν γὰρ

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{φονεύωσι τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους οἰκέτας οἱ μοιχοὶ} \\ \text{μοιχεύωσι δὲ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας γυναῖκας οἱ φονεῖς.} \end{array} \right.$   
 ('When debauchees murder other people's slaves,  
 and murderers debauch other people's wives,' etc.)

A. T., V. xxv.

$\begin{array}{c} \text{μισουμένη τὸν μισοῦντα φιλῶ} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{καὶ} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{ὀδυνωμένη τὸν ὀδυνῶντα ἐλεῶ} \end{array}$

('Hated, I love my hater; tortured, I pity my torturer.')

(19) *Homeophony*<sup>84</sup> (Repetition, Assonance, Alliteration, Rhyme). As a final touch, the rhetorician adds to similarity of construction similarity of sound<sup>85</sup>—"homeophony." This may consist merely in *repetition* of words in the same or in inflected or derivative forms. In (18) there are several examples, exhibiting ingenious interweaving of the homeophonic words with the words corresponding in construction. Or the homeophony may take the form of *assonance* (similarity in vowels), *alliteration* (similarity in consonants), or *rhyme* (*homoiooteleuton*, similarity

<sup>84</sup> This word, with its derivatives, I have ventured to coin. There seems to be a need for some generic term to cover all the species of similarity in sound.

<sup>85</sup> Which, indeed, could scarcely have been avoided; as, in an inflected language, grammatical parallelism often carries with it similar terminations.



in *terminal vowels and consonants both*<sup>85</sup>). In the following examples it will be noticed that homeophony is not confined to those grammatical constructions which separate X and Y, but occurs in Oxymoron as well as in Antithesis; and that throughout, particularly in antithesis, the tendency is to make the corresponding words (X and Y) homeophonic.<sup>86</sup>

A. T., V. xiv. Κενοτάφιον μὲν γὰρ εἶδον, κενογάμιον δ' οὐ (part-repetition of word; assonance, correspondence).

V. xx. Δυστυχῶ μὲν ἐν οἷς εὐτυχῶ (part-repetition; rhyme; correspondence) ὅτι σὲ παρὼν παροῦσαν ὡς ἀποδημούσαν ὁρῶ (rhyme; correspondence).

V. xviii. Ποῖον γὰρ ὄψον μοι πολυτελὲς ἢ ποῖος οἶνος τιμιώτερος τῆς σῆς ὄψεως; (alliteration; cor-

<sup>85</sup> From the frequency of these figures of balance it must not be inferred that the style of the Greek Romances is uniformly or even prevalently periodic. Short word-groups of the same rank balance as readily as longer combinations of sentence-members of different ranks. In fact, much of the body of the narrative—excluding *ἐκφράσεις*, letters, “orations” and other passages in heightened style—is kept artificially simple (*ἀφελές*)—often in an attempt to imitate the naïve *paratactic* structure of archaic prose. A. T., I. i: “Sidon is a city on the sea; the sea is that of the Assyrians; the city of the Phoenicians is the mother; the people of the Thebans is the father. . . . I behold a picture of land and sea together. The picture is of Europa: the sea is that of the Phoenicians; the land is that of Sidon. On the land, a meadow and a bevy of maidens. On the sea, a bull . . .” D. and C., I. xiii: “She persuaded him to bathe again, and as he bathed she looked, and having looked she touched, and having touched she praised, and the praise was the beginning of love.” There is a close analogy between this archaistic simplicity attained by artifice, and that of our own modern attempts to imitate the prose of the English Bible. The “note” of both is *coördinate structure*.

respondence). 'What *sweet* more dainty than thy *sight*?'

VIII. viii. Τῶν δυστυχούντων εἰσιν, οὐ τῶν ἀδικούντων οἱ βωμοὶ (rhyme; correspondence).

Æth., X. xxix. τοῖς συνετοῖς ἀσύνετα φθέγγομαι (repetition; correspondence).

'To the intelligent I speak the unintelligible.'

A. T., III. xvi. καθάρσιον γέγονας ἀκαθάρτων σωμάτων (repetition; correspondence).

ἡ τῶν σπλάγχνων σου ταφὴ ληστῶν γέγονε τροφή (alliteration; rhyme; correspondence). 'Thy entrails' *sepulture* is the robbers' *nurture*.'

III. xxv. Ζῶν μὲν οὖν Αἰθίοψ ἐστὶ τῇ τροφῇ,

ἀποθανῶν δ' Αἰγύπτιος τῇ ταφῇ.

(Parallel structure; assonance; rhyme; correspondence).

VIII. viii. δίκην δεδωκὼς οὐ δέδωκεν (repetition forming group; alliteration between group and outside word).

II. xxiv. ἀδοξεῖς ἐν οἷς δυστυχεῖς (rhyme; correspondence).

II. xxii. παρὼν οὐ πάρειμι· ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ φεύγω καὶ μένω (repetition; correspondence).

IV. ix. Ὡ δυστυχεῖς ἡμεῖς ὅταν εὐτυχήσωμεν (correspondence; repetition).

I. xiii. Τάφος μὲν σοι ὁ θάλαμος,  
γάμος δ' ὁ θάνατος,  
θρῆνος δ' ὁ ὑμέναιος.

(Three clauses parallel in structure; within each of first two clauses, assonance; between first two clauses, assonance, alliteration, and correspondence).

'*Burial* is your nuptial *bed*;

your *bridal* comes now you are *dead*;  
a *funeral* wail is the song for you that should  
have *wed*.'

The figures of oxymoron, antithesis and homeophony, which in their beginnings in Greek philosophical prose<sup>87</sup> were the natural though studied expression of an essential duality and contrast in the real world, reflecting in words whatever Heraclitus and Hippocrates and Empedocles saw of the truth of things, have now but too evidently degenerated into mere artifice. Even when they have no substance to express, they continue to flourish rankly, because the rhetorician insists upon contorting and splitting the most innocent idea in order to squeeze a crude contrast out of the twisted fissure. And when, in the Greek Romances, they do express any substance at all, it is the substance of a dismembered fabric of events, persons, and objects,—where disconnect-edness and irrelevancy prevail, where at any moment chance may step in with its abrupt changes and rude negations, and where one thing, instead of leading to its natural consequence, leads to its opposite, or to something that has nothing to do with it at all. Here indeed the loose structure and the flashy style fit each other. The loose structure requires the reader to leap in thought from an X to a Y that is not essentially connected with it: expecting more of X or its consequences, he is suddenly confronted with Y, and his expectation defeated. The flashy style, where X—which the reader never thought was

<sup>87</sup> See Norden, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-23.



Y at all—is said to *be* Y, or where X and Y—which the reader *had* been associating—are suddenly dissociated and opposed, is partly the fitting expression of such cheap relations between things, their irrelevancy, their haphazard connections, their violent severances—and partly deliberate clap-trap. Structure and style alike convey a base view of life and of the function of literature. So far from seeking to unify the divers phenomena of life under law, the Greek Romance prefers to keep them apart, in all their chance diversity, showiness, and separate sensuous appeal. Law, permanency, consistency, the unity in spirit of that which in matter is so various and contradictory—all this is too sober, too dull. Let us have what is truly interesting; let us have what moves and jingles and glitters. Let us have the passing show.

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It is as if the Greek Romances were “made to order” for the entertainment of the Renaissance. Their authors, like Virgil, “divined what the future would love.” Hardly any other kind of fiction, hardly any other view of life, could appeal more strongly to the sixteenth century novel-reader and novel-writer than the ornate, spectacular, rhetorical, sentimental, fortuitous medley which we have been attempting to characterize. The Renaissance, in its uncritical acceptance of everything Greek and Roman as *ipso facto* classical, felt at liberty to choose according to its own unquiet taste, and thus established and for centuries maintained among the canons of classicism

the late works of Alexandria and of the Hellenized and Romanized Orient—works which today are perceived not to be classical at all. Among them it chose to admire and to imitate the Greek Romances. What did the Renaissance in England do with this very distinctive body of fiction? What did it make of this great stock of types, *motifs* and incidents, pictures, models of narrative method, patterns of rhetorical device? The following chapters of the present study will attempt an answer.

## INTERCHAPTER

Though the material facts concerning Renaissance translations and editions of the Greek Romances have already been presented in tabular form (*ante*, pp. 8–10), it may be not superfluous to add some further particulars bearing upon the accessibility of the chief of these Romances to Elizabethan writers, and to characterize briefly at least one of the Elizabethan translations—Day's paraphrase of Amyot's version of "Daphnis and Chloe."<sup>1</sup>

Heliodorus, first printed in 1534 at Basel, *ex officina Hervaegiana*, with a preface by Opso-poeus,<sup>2</sup> was first translated by Amyot (Paris, 1547<sup>3</sup>; Folio). It was not this French translation, however, but Warschewiczki's translation into Latin (Basel, 1551), which served as the

<sup>1</sup> Underdowne's Heliodorus, with its errors and quaintnesses, and its occasional splendor of diction, has been adequately treated in Mr. Whibley's introduction to the "Tudor Translation" reprint.

<sup>2</sup> Whibley, p. xiv; *Script. Erot.*, p. iii.

<sup>3</sup> Brunet, and Grässe, both *s. v.* "Heliodorus"; Jacobs, Friedrich, "Einleitung" to his translation, p. 14 n.; Sandys, II. 195; Dunlop, II. 404; Warren, 58. A *second* edition, Paris, 1549, mentioned as such by Brunet, Grässe, and Jacobs (as above), is said by Lenglet, II. 9, and by Koerting, I. 26, to be the *first*; while Whibley, p. xv, dates the first edition 1559. This date is certainly incorrect; the title page of the edition of 1559 (fol.) in the Columbia University Library plainly declares it to be "de nouveau reueue & corrigée," and the license (verso of title-page) calls it "nouuellement reueu, corrigé & augmenté par le mesme trāslateur."



original of the English version by Thomas Underdowne; who "owed no debt to Amyot," but "follows the ingenious Warschewiczki into his every error."<sup>4</sup>

The date of Underdowne's first edition is in doubt. According to the "Athenae Oxonienses" (I. 431-2) it was printed for Henrie Wykes by Francis Coldocke in 1577. But in 1569 Francis Coldocke had already been licensed to publish "*the ende of the x<sup>th</sup> boke of HELIODERUS ETHIOPIUM historie*" (Stationers' Register, Transcript, I. 388),—a license which seems to imply that the remainder of the "Æthiopica" had already been printed. On the other hand, Underdowne's address "To the Gentle Reader" in the edition of 1587, would support the later date. "I translated (gentle reader) not long agoe, Heliodorus Æthiopian history, which after I had committed to Maister Frauncis Coldocke, my friend, he caused the same to be published: wherewith (though not well advised) I was well contented, at that time: but nowe beeing by riper yeeres better advised, I am at thy hand forced, to crave pardon of my boldnesse" (U, p. 4). A period of ten years (to 1577) might possibly be spoken of as "not long agoe"; but even that seems rather to stretch the phrase; while eighteen years (to 1569) could hardly be covered by the phrase at all.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Whibley, pp. xiv, n., xv.

<sup>5</sup> It seems possible that there was an edition in *each* of the years 1569 and 1577. If such be the case, may not Underdowne's words to the Gentle Reader, as given in the edition of 1587, have been *reprinted* from that of 1577? They would then allude only to the period of *eight* years between the first and the second edition. (Cf. Oeftering,

The later date (1577) still brings the "Æthiopica" into Elizabethan hands in plenty of time. "Euphues" is not yet out; Greene's first piece of fiction will not be licensed till three years later; Lodge's will not be printed till seven; Sidney has perhaps begun the "Arcadia" in desultory fashion,<sup>6</sup> but will not finish it for several years, and will afterward, before his death in 1586, recast rather more than the first half of it, with the "Æthiopica" full in his view.—As for the subsequent edition of Underdowne, in 1587, this, though it comes too late for Sidney, is ready to give Greene a new impulse toward the imitation of Greek Romance.

In the case of both Longus and Achilles Tatius, translations long precede the *editio princeps*. Amyot is the pioneer again in publishing a translation of "Daphnis and Chloe," his celebrated French version having been issued in 1559, ten years before the paraphrase into Latin hexameters by Lorenzo Gambara,<sup>7</sup> and nearly forty years be-

p. 49.) The earlier date (1569) is also supported by the fact that a play based on the "Æthiopica" was performed at Court in 1572-3. The Revels Accounts for December, January and February, 1572-3, mention "ij spears for the play of Cariclia," and "An awlter for theagines." (Feuillerat, p. 175.) A still earlier excerpt from Heliodorus appeared, according to Oeftering, p. 92, n. 2, in James Sanford's "Amorous and Tragical Tales of Plutarch, whereunto is annexed the Historie of Chariclea and Theagenes with sentences of the Greek philosophers. London, 1567." Oeftering adds that this was printed by H. Bynneman and dedicated to Sir Hugh Paulet of Hinton St. George, Somerset; that the "Historie of Chariclea and Theagenes" is at folios 10-27; and (p. 93) that its title designates it as "Gathered for the most part out of Heliodorus a Greeke Authour."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dobell, p. 74.

<sup>7</sup> Jacobs, J., *Introd.*, pp. xv, xxx.

fore the *princeps* of 1598. ("Florentiae, Apud Philippum Iunctam. MDIIC.")<sup>8</sup> Annibal Caro had, to be sure, made a translation into Italian prose in 1538-40; but this was not published until 1784, after a disappearance of more than two centuries.<sup>9</sup>

The Elizabethan version of "Daphnis and Chloe" by Angel Day was published in the same year as the current edition of *Underdowne*—1587; and, like the latter, it entered at once into the work of the versatile Greene. It was too late to touch Sidney, who had died the year before. In fact, Sidney's "Arcadia" does not show the least sign of acquaintance either with the version of Amyot, or with "Daphnis and Chloe" in any other form.

Day paraphrased Amyot's translation, adding and omitting, expanding and abridging, as he pleased. Textual particulars of his treatment of Amyot are given in Appendix A (*post*, p. 465); it may be well to notice here one or two of his more striking changes in the text, as well as some of the literary characteristics of his version. For, in a way, his "Daphnis and Chloe" is itself a piece of Elizabethan prose fiction.

Obvious at sight is Day's omission of the Proem,—an omission which took from the Elizabethan reader Longus's explanation of his pastoral as a series of pictures illustrated by appropriate feelings. Equally obvious is Day's removal

<sup>8</sup> I have seen Ben Jonson's copy, now owned by a private collector.

<sup>9</sup> See Caro's "Opere" ("Classici Italiani"), Milano, 1812. Vol. 7; prefatory matter by Francesco Daniele (p. xxxii).



of nearly three quarters of the original Third Book to the beginning of his Fourth, and his insertion, instead, of "The Shepherd's Holiday," a dull pastoral of his own in praise of Queen Elizabeth. But of the liberties Day took with the text of his original perhaps the most interesting is his filling of the *lacuna* in the First Book.<sup>10</sup> As is well known, this was not authentically filled till 1809, when Paul Louis Courier transcribed from a MS. in the Benedictine Abbey<sup>11</sup> at Florence the missing passage, which he had discovered upon a previous visit, probably in 1807. The story of how, after transcribing the passage, he blotted the MS. page, and of the furious controversy that ensued, is one of the curiosities of literature.<sup>12</sup> He had in Day a canny though not an authentic predecessor. The textual notes in Appendix A (*post*, p. 465) show how ingeniously Day drew from the passages after the *lacuna* most of the matter with which he filled it, and how he made guesses at the rest.

With the spirit of "Daphnis and Chloe" Day took even greater liberties than with the letter. Longus, and Amyot after him, are "simple and sensuous"; they draw their persons and their scenes with the pure Greek outline, as well as

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Joseph Jacobs, though he notices the attempts of later translators (p. xxx) to fill this celebrated *lacuna*, has apparently not observed Day's own interpolation.

<sup>11</sup> In 1832 the MS. was in the Laurentian Library (Friedrich Jacobs, "Vorrede" to his translation of "Daphnis and Chloe," p. 14). I examined it there July 1, 1910.

<sup>12</sup> See Courier's "Lettre à M. Renouard sur une tache d'encre dans une copie de Longus" (1810), and authorities cited by Mr. Joseph Jacobs, pp. xix-xxii.

with the full Greek range of definite sensations.<sup>13</sup> I have spoken of the effect as one of richness in simplicity.<sup>14</sup> Now where Longus and Amyot are simple, Day is composite. To Chloe's plain chaplet of pine he must add "all sortes of flowers," and when Chloe is likened to a nymph, he must liken her not only to a nymph, but also to Leda and to Io (A 29; Da 35-6); Amyot's "l'humeur de la fontaine" becomes in Day "the ouerflowing waues with Cristall humor" (A 8; Da 8-9). When Amyot says that Daphnis *saw* Chloe, Day speaks of him as "fastening his earnest lookes on her admirable beuties," and "wholie confused by *Loue* the force whereof distilling amaine within him, had wrought to his most secret entrailes" (A 29; Da 35-6). Day is thus continually forcing the note,—overdoing both Longus's objective descriptions, of which he blurs the clear outlines, and Longus's accounts of the children's *πᾶθος*, which he sentimentalizes.<sup>15</sup> He further complicates the simplicity of his original with fine writing,<sup>16</sup> ink-horn terms,<sup>17</sup> and antitheses,<sup>18</sup> and with

<sup>13</sup> *Ante*, p. 168.

<sup>14</sup> *Ante*, p. 169.

<sup>15</sup> A 28, "le travail . . . baigner," a total of ninety-three words on the children's symptoms of love, becomes, at Da 33-4, "And werisomness of the painefull trauel . . . their chiefest ease"—more than three hundred words.

<sup>16</sup> A 65: "ta Chloé reviendra demain." Da 72: "Thy Chloe, or ever the faire *Arora* next shall have quite vailed of her purple cover powdered with glimpsing stars, . . . shalbe againe returned unto thee." Da 99: "Nowe the purple covert of Jupiters signiory, beganne to take hold in the element, etc." (not in A).

<sup>17</sup> Da 11: "Frustrate was his body of garments" (not in A).

<sup>18</sup> Da 34: "Contentment reposed it selfe uppon their deepest disquiet, and from their greatest discontentment sprang uppe againe their chiefest ease" (not in A).

adventitious matter the nature and extent of which may best be shown by an extract. The words in brackets are not in Amyot (pp. 7-8). Da 8-9: "There was a certaine great caue, standing in a rocke, [sacred sometimes to the *Nymphes* and therefore] called by the name of the *Nymphes Caue*, something crooked within, but altogether round without. In the inward part whereof were divers statues of [*Goddesses and other*] *Nymphes*, wrought [finely] out of stone, the feete unshod, the armes all naked, [and th' atire buckled on] the shoulders, their haire cast onely upon their necks, without tressing at all; girded they were upon their loynes, their lookes [sweetly] smiling, and their countenaunces such, [as seemed with interchangeable favors in delicate sorte to greete eache other]. Right under the hollowe rising of this caue, sprang in the middest of the bottom a [sweet] fountaine, which [raising it selfe, with a soft bubling,] gathered into a [pleasaunt springe] (*ruysseau*, A 8), wherewith the fresh and fruitfull grenes [round about the same] were [continually] watered. Ouer the mouth of the caue, where the [overflowing waves with Cristal] humor had wrought [from the earth sondrie kindes of flowers and] hearbs of delicate vewe, hong divers flutes, Pipes, and Flagiolots, made of reedes, which the auncient shepheards had [often tofore-time] sacred [unto the *Nymphes*] for [their greatest] offerings."

But Day is not only overloaded and composite where Longus and Amyot are simple: he is meagre, generalized and vague where they are



rich in specific sensations. He not only doubles or breaks their sharp outline; he dulls it by narrowing his range of sensuous impressions. Instead of their one clear image, he presents several vague images, each one blurred by his omission of, say, sound or odor from the description, or by his running off into conventional mythological verbiage of little or no descriptive force. Of Philetas's piping (A 76), so full of distinct sounds, Day says (84-5) that it was "handled with such perfection, as all that he plaid, you would have thought almost to have beene a thing in deede effected, *whether* it were in actions belonging to the feeding and garding of all kinds of beasts, which in sundrie orderly times he diversly had expressed, or in any sort otherwise." He thus generalizes and puts in the alternative what his original gave specifically and distinctly. The varying sounds of the sailors' song and chorus, with its echo as the boat passes the headland and the bay (A 101) he greatly weakens (Da 125); and the passage on the coming of spring, with the piping of shepherds, the bleating of flocks, and the song of the nightingale, becomes absolutely dumb under his hand (A 92, Da 124). The dead dolphin, with its most ancient and fish-like smell, he omits altogether (A 104 ff.),—and it may be spared, perhaps; but so does he omit the fragrance of the fruit from Longus's lovely idyll of the golden apple (A 115 ff.; Da 134-5). As for the sensation of heat, he thinks to suggest it by saying that "Titan having wound hym selfe in the Crabbe, drewe fast to the Lions cabbin" (Da 38; not in A).

Add to all this that Day's version often blunders away from the plain meaning of Amyot's French;<sup>19</sup> that, far more than Longus and Amyot, it emphasizes ridiculous and even contemptible aspects of rustic manners and character;<sup>20</sup> that it altogether omits irony from the dénouement; that it suffers from the Renaissance *lues Fortunae*, the disease of magnifying to excess the agency of Fortune,<sup>21</sup> and that it adopts towards the two children an attitude half tender, half patronizing, but wholly foreign to its original;<sup>22</sup> and you have some of its distinguishing characteristics as a piece of Elizabethan prose fiction. Its antitheses, overloaded ornament, sentimental "psychology," and *lues Fortunae* tempt one to sum the matter up by saying that Day handled the matter of Longus in something like the manner of Achilles Tatius.

The *editio princeps* of Achilles Tatius was

<sup>19</sup> Where A says (p. 8) that the nymphs' statues looked "comme si elles eussent ballé ensemble," Da (8-9) translates "seemed . . . to greete eache other." In the same passage he translates "*creuse*" by "crooked" (A 7, Da 8). A's "vignes du vignoble de Metelin" (42) become in Day (50) "the vines of *Vignenoble* in Mitilene," as if "vignoble" were a geographical proper name. The account of the relative functions of Fortune and Providence at A 142 is hopelessly muddled by Day (148).

<sup>20</sup> Lamon's greediness, Da 7; Myrtale's simple-minded question, *ib.*, 8; Dryas's "clubbish condition," *ib.*, 10; Dorcon's holiday finery, *ib.*, 22, 23-4 (part of Day's interpolation); Dorcon's stratagem, *ib.*, 29.

<sup>21</sup> Da 98, 99, 151, 153, 153-4. Cf. *ante*, p. 123 n. 7.

<sup>22</sup> A 11: "les envoyèrent tous deux aux champs garder les bestes." Da 13: "dispatched the two darlings of the earth to their severall heards." A 11: "Ces deux jeunes enfans." Da 14: "These Images of Beautie." Da 15: "these seemely portraictures of well pleasing youth" (not in A).

printed at Heidelberg, "ex officina Commeliniana," in 1601;<sup>23</sup> but, like Longus, Achilles Tatius had appeared in translation many years before. In 1544 Annibale della Croce (Hannibal Crucceius) published at Lyons a Latin version of the last four books; in 1554, at Basel, a more complete version.<sup>24</sup> In 1546 Lodovico Dolce published at Venice the last four books in Italian, under the title "Amorosi Ragionamenti,"—the publisher (Gabriele Giolito) declaring that the author's name was unknown, "unless perchance it be that Clitophon in whose person these discourses are told," and that the fragment had reached his hands "without its beginning and without its end."<sup>25</sup> He was of course mistaken as to the end. Angelo Coccio's complete(?) translation into Italian was published in Venice in 1560 (reprinted there in 1563 and 1568, and in Florence in 1598 and 1599);<sup>26</sup> and in 1568 (Paris) appeared a French version "par B. Comingeois," who may be Belleforest.<sup>27</sup>

The first English translation is that of William Burton, 1597, now existing in a copy probably unique, concerning which the owner, Mr. A. T. Porter, of London, has favored me with the following particulars: "Burton translates the whole eight books. . . . I have read the whole work through twice, and parts of it many times, [and] I have detected no omissions or insertions; in

<sup>23</sup> W. Schmid, in Pauly-Wissowa, I. 246-7; Lenglet, II. 6.

<sup>24</sup> W. Schmid, *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Copy in Columbia University Library, fol. 2v, 3r.

<sup>26</sup> Lenglet, II. 78.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*



fact, I think, its almost immediate suppression is proof of the faithfulness of the translation. It is a charming specimen of Elizabethan prose."<sup>28</sup>

Burton's translation came too late to affect "Euphues," Greene, or Sidney; Nash published no prose fiction after "The Unfortunate Traveller" in 1594; Lodge none after "A Margarite of America" in 1596 (written 1592). It would seem that Burton's late appearance and immediate suppression cut him off from the influence which he must otherwise have exercised upon a reading and writing public so fond of Achilles Tatius's vein. But, as has just been seen, Latin, French and Italian translations were accessible long before the publication of "Euphues"; and, as will abundantly appear from internal evidence, Greene and Sidney knew their "Clitophon and Leucippe" thoroughly.

<sup>28</sup> For a detailed account of this volume, see Appendix C.

## PART TWO

### ELIZABETHAN PROSE FICTION

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#### CHAPTER I

JOHN LYLY<sup>1</sup>

The connection between Lyly and Greek Romance rests partly upon proof, and partly upon probable conjecture. There is proof that the plot of "Euphues" is derived from Boccaccio's tale of "Tito and Gisippo" (Decam., X. 8). There is probable conjecture, by such authorities as Wilhelm Grimm, Erwin Rohde, and Gaston Paris, that Boccaccio's tale is indebted to a Greek original. This indebtedness may be secondary, by way of the Old French poem "Athis et Prophilias," which is known to be one of the sources of "Tito and Gisippo" and which is believed to be derived from a late Greek Romance now lost; or it may be primary,—several of Boccaccio's tales (see *post*, p. 370) showing clearly that he was in contact with Greek fiction. But whether primary or

<sup>1</sup> In "Campaspe," I. i, 64 f., 70 f., there is a probable allusion, and in "Mother Bombie," I. i, 26 ff., an unmistakable allusion, to the "Æthiopica." "Euphues," however, shows no traces of the influence of Heliodorus.

In "Gallathea" I. i, 28-34, the antithetical description of the flood is unmistakably from A. T., IV. xii. But "Euphues" gets nothing from Achilles Tatius, except possibly some traits of style (see *post*, p. 256 n. 3).

secondary, the transmission of specific elements from Greek Romance to Boccaccio, and from Boccaccio to Lyly, is almost certain.

From Boccaccio Lyly takes not only narrative material, but narrative technique as well: the division of similar material into similar stages and scenes—its “articulation”; and the employment of pathos, of soliloquy, and of dialogue. In both “Euphues” and “Tito and Gisippo” a young stranger sojourning in a city becomes the friend of a young citizen, who is betrothed to a girl of great beauty and noble birth. To her the citizen introduces his friend, who falls in love with her at sight. The new lover retires to his chamber, and in a soliloquy determines that his love must prevail over his friendship. During his lovesickness, the citizen visits him, inquires the cause of his distress, and offers his own services. The stranger dissembles his love.—So far the two stories are the same, both in material and in construction; but here they part company. Boccaccio’s is a tale of true friendship:—the stranger at length acknowledges his love and the citizen surrenders to him his betrothed. Lyly’s is a tale of fickleness in love, and of friendship betrayed:—the stranger continues to dissemble, covertly wins the affection of his friend’s betrothed, becomes her acknowledged lover, and is later jilted for his pains. But it is safe to say that Lyly took the beginning of his story, with its evolution and articulation, from Boccaccio; and it is difficult not to think that he also took a hint for his continuation: let the stranger go on dissembling, and poetic justice will require that he be jilted. The



derivation of "Euphues" from "Tito and Gissippo" is confirmed by numerous verbal parallels.<sup>1a</sup>

If, now, Boccaccio got either this narrative material or this narrative technique, mediately or immediately, from a Greek Romance, then it will be certain that Lyly, at one or more removes to be sure, also inherited the Greek legacy. That Boccaccio did learn the lesson of narrative form from Greek Romance cannot, of course, be demonstrated; but it is quite probable; and, as far as I know, there is no reason why it should not be true.

The discussion of Boccaccio's source requires us to consider various versions of the mediaeval "Legend of Two Friends." The table on pages 258 ff. shows the material and its articulation (as far as it has any) in each version; and shows, too, the striking difference between "Athis et Prophilias" and all the other versions before Boccaccio. This is a difference in kind. The other versions are excessively bald and jejune. "Athis et Prophilias" is rich in matter, and highly developed in narrative art. In it, and in

<sup>1a</sup> S. L. Wolff, "A Source of *Euphues*" (*Modern Philology*, April, 1910), gives the proofs in full. M. Feuillerat ("John Lyly," pp. 34 n. 2, 74-5, 274-5) asserts that the love-story in "Euphues" is autobiographical. The passage in Forman's diary upon the strength of which M. Feuillerat, almost without argument, makes this assertion, is, to say the least, unconvincing. But even supposing the *material* of the love-story to come from Lyly's life, the *form* of it—its articulation, *pathos*, soliloquy, dialogue—comes from Boccaccio. Mr. J. D. Wilson's convincing article, "Euphues and the Prodigal Son" (*The Library*, October, 1909), does not negative my conclusions. It demonstrates, rather, that one strand more of literary tradition, besides those already recognized, enters into the composition of "Euphues."

it alone, is there any descriptive "setting" (Athens and Rome), any division of the plot into stages and scenes, any attempt at characterization by means of dialogue, soliloquy, or *pathos*. It is evidently Boccaccio's chief source.<sup>2</sup> When it differs from his other source,—the "Disciplina Clericalis"—Boccaccio prefers "Athis et Prophlias" in all but three cases (\*in the table). Perhaps it would be truer to say that the story in the "Disciplina" differs chiefly from "Athis et Prophlias" in being so crudely told as simply not to offer Boccaccio the narrative material and articulation that he wants. Boccaccio, then, taking from the "Disciplina" several details towards the end of his story, takes nearly everything else from "Athis et Prophlias"; takes, indeed, those very details of articulation and pathos,—the visit to the betrothed, the soliloquy, the conflict between love and friendship, the inquiry, the dissimulation, etc.,—which later, Lyly gets from "Tito and Gisippo."

In all probability these details—*conventions* they almost seem to be—come from a lost Byzantine novel. Grimm ("Kleinere Schriften," Vol. III), concluding his discussion of the Second Part of "Athis et Prophlias" (a regular romance of chivalry, not here tabulated), remarks (pp. 269–270): "Der erste Theil dagegen [the Part we are here concerned with] zeigt die vornehmen und überfeinerten Sitten des griechischen Kaiserthums, äusseres Gepräge und zur Schau getra-

<sup>2</sup> Landau's and Lee's treatments of the sources of De-cameron, X. 8, quite fail to do justice to "Athis et Prophlias."

gene Tugenden"; and (p. 274) "Ich vermuthe, die ursprüngliche Quelle dieses ersten Theiles ist eine neugriechische Bearbeitung der Sage von den beiden Freunden gewesen, abgefasst etwa im elften Jahrhundert . . . Eine Spur des vermutheten byzantinischen Werks aufzufinden habe ich mich jedoch vergeblich bemüht."

Gaston Paris ("La Litt. fr. au Moyen Age," § 51) is quite certain that "Athis et Prophilius" has a Greek original: " . . . À partir des croisades, les rapports des Francs avec les Grecs devinrent directs, et plusieurs romans, qui n'existent plus en grec, mais que différents indices nous permettent de reconnaître comme byzantins, furent mis en français sans passer par le latin, et sans doute grâce à une transmission simplement orale. Tels sont. . . . *Athis et Porphirias* [*sic*: this is one form of the name] par Alexandre de Bernai . . . ; la deuxième partie de ce très long poème paraît une suite d'aventures de pure invention: *la première est un conte grec dont nous avons diverses formes (une entre autres dans le Décaméron de Boccace).*"

And Rohde ("Der Gr. Rom.," p. 541, n. 2) thinks that Boccaccio may have been in immediate contact with the Greek. He queries: "Ob nicht für *seine* Darstellung der Sage von Athis und Prophilius, Decam. X 8, Boccaccio ein mittelgriechisches Gedicht benutzt haben mag, welches zu dem uns erhaltenen altfranzösischen Gedicht über diesen Gegenstand eine Parallele bildete?"

Upon the possible existence of a Greek original



a curious light is shed—a light which may perhaps be only the light of a will-o'-the-wisp,—by Goldsmith's version of the tale (see last column of table). This differs in so many particulars from every other version with which I am acquainted, that it may quite possibly be derived from some source other than "Tito and Gisippo." Goldsmith, whether truly or falsely, professes that it is "*Translated from a Byzantine Historian.*"

The table shows sufficiently its plot and structure. Some details, however, seem worth comment. (1) The story opens as follows: "Athens, long after the decline of the Roman Empire, still continued the seat of learning, politeness, and wisdom. Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, repaired the schools which barbarity was suffering to fall into decay, and continued . . . pensions to men of learning. . . . In this city, and about this period, Alcander and Septimius were fellow students together. . . . Alcander was of Athens, Septimius came from Rome." The historical setting, then, is consistently placed within Byzantine times. (2) When Septimius, who had been on the point of dying for love of Alcander's betrothed, Hypatia, was at length married to her, "*this unlooked for change of fortune,*" says the story, "*wrought as unexpected a change* in the constitution of the now happy Septimius"—a trait of style quite characteristic of Greek Romance. (3) Further emphasis is thrown upon Fortune by the lack of emphasis upon friendship. As Septimius does not recognize Alcander until the latter has already been cleared by the con-

fession of the real murderer, Septimius does not accuse himself to save his friend, and there is no generous contest between them as to which shall die to save the other. (4) Alcander's retreat to a *tomb* is in the vein of Greek Romance (cf. "Habrocomes and Anthea," and "Babylonica"). (5) So is Alcander's being sold into *slavery* (cf. Leucippe's enslavement). (6) That one friend should actually sit in judgment upon the other, and, without recognizing him, be about to condemn him to death, is again the characteristically *bizarre* final trial scene of Greek Romance (cf. Chariclea, restored to her father, and, unrecognized, condemned to death by him). (7) The points where Goldsmith professes to have abridged his original are precisely those at which diffuseness would have been characteristic of Greek Romance. "*It would but delay the narrative to describe the conflict between love and friendship in the breast of Alcander on this occasion. . . . In short, forgetful of his own felicity, he gave up his intended bride.*" This points backward to long soliloquies, and long psychological analyses of his "conflicting emotions." Later, when he was prosecuted by Hypatia's kinsmen, "his innocence of the crime laid to his charge, and *even his eloquence in his own defense*, were not able to withstand the influence of a powerful party." This points backward to the long forensic harangue which, if Goldsmith really used a Byzantine original, might well have been there. Finally, after Alcander's escape from Thrace, "travelling by night, and lodging in

caverns by day, *to shorten a long story*, he at last arrived in Rome." This points backward to a *Reiseroman*. All three of the matters which Goldsmith perhaps abridged—analysis of emotion, forensic harangue, and the moving accidents of travel—are just the kind of thing that is actually found in excess in Greek Romance. Either Goldsmith had made so thorough a study of this *genre* as to be able to put his finger accurately upon its characteristics, and to modify accordingly (when he wished to manufacture an imitation) the material he found in some non-Byzantine version, or—he was telling the truth. There is nothing inherently improbable in the supposition that while reading widely for one of his hack Histories, Goldsmith did come across this tale in some "Byzantine Historian."

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This rather complicated discussion, which has wandered far from Lyly, may now be recapitulated:

(a) Lyly's "Euphues" gets its earlier portion—both narrative material and narrative structure—from Boccaccio's "Tito and Gisippo."

(b) Boccaccio's "Tito and Gisippo" gets this same narrative material and narrative structure from "Athis et Prophilias."

(c) "Athis et Prophilias" probably gets its narrative material and narrative structure from a lost Greek Romance. At least, so think Grimm and Gaston Paris.

(d) Besides using "Athis et Prophilias," Boccaccio may have been in immediate contact with



its Greek original, and may have derived directly therefrom some of this narrative material and narrative structure. At least, so thinks Rohde.

(e) The Greek original of "Athis et Prophtias" and of "Tito and Gisippo," or another Byzantine version of the same theme, may have been used by Oliver Goldsmith.

On the whole, it seems easier to believe than not to believe that "Euphues" is one of a series of tales the conventions of whose structure are a tradition from Greek Romance.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> It is rather a temptation to think that Lyly's *style*, "Euphuism," owes something to that of the Greek Romances. I have, however, found no direct evidence on this point. The similarities, striking as they often are, can probably be explained as due to the general diffusion of Ciceronian and late Greek rhetoric throughout Europe during the Renaissance. To this rhetorical material the Greek Romances undoubtedly contribute; but it would be difficult to say just what. Nevertheless the following passages suggest Achilles Tatius rather specifically.

*Euphues*, I. 322-3: "If it were for thy preferment and his amendment, I wish you were both *married*, but if he should continue his folly whereby thou shouldest fal from thy dutie I rather wish you both *buried*." (Antithesis: marriage and burial.)

*Euphues*, I. 210. Euphues soliloquizes: "The wound that bleedeth inwarde is most dangerous, . . . the fire kept close burneth most furious, . . . the Ooven dammed up baketh soonest, . . . sores having no vent fester inwardly . . ." Cf. A. T., II. xxix *ad fin* (cf. III. xi; VII. iv).

*Euphues*, I. 201: "And so they all sate downe, but *Euphues fed of one dish* which ever stooode before him, the *beautie of Lucilla*." Cf. A. T., I. v (Clitophon at first sight of Leucippe cannot eat, but makes his meal of contemplating her beauty). V. xiii (Melitta makes her meal of contemplating Clitophon).

*Euphues*, I. 208: Euphues retiring love-sick to his chamber, "Amiddest therefore these his extremities *between hope and feare*," soliloquizes. Cf. A. T., II. xxiii (Clitophon in Leucippe's chamber) and cf. VI. xiv (Clitophon in prison).



TABLE OF VARIOUS VERSIONS OF THE LEGEND OF TWO FRIENDS.<sup>1</sup>

Oliver Goldsmith: <i>Septimius and Al-</i> <i>cander. In The</i> <i>Bee</i> , No. 1. 1759.	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	
Lyly: <i>Euphues</i> . 1578.	✓	✓	A a Nea- politan o B an Athenian		o At end of story	✓	o ✓	o ✓
Sir Thomas Elyot: <i>The Governor</i> . 1531. Bk. II, ch. 12.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Boccaccio: <i>Decam.</i> X. 8: <i>Tito and</i> <i>Gisippo</i> . 1353.	✓	✓	o ✓	o ✓	o ✓	✓	o ✓	o ✓
<i>Athis et Prophilias</i> . Circ. 1200.	✓	✓	o ✓	o ✓	✓	o ✓	✓	o ✓
<i>El Cavallero Cifar</i> . Early 14th Cent.	✓	✓				✓	✓	
Nicolaus Perga- menus: <i>Dialogus</i> <i>Creaturarum</i> . 13th or 14th Cent.	✓	"De duobus sociis, quorum unus concessit alteri sponsam suam uxorem."						
Thomas de Cantim- pré: <i>De Proprieta-</i> <i>tibus Apum</i> . After 1251.	✓	✓						✓
<i>Gesta Romanorum</i> (Acknowledges <i>Disc. Cler.</i> as source).	✓	✓				✓		
Petrus Alphonsus: <i>Disciplina Cleri-</i> <i>calis</i> . Circ. 1106.	✓	✓	Egypt and "Bal- dach."			✓		
Two Friends. One is a citizen (A), the other a stranger (B).  A an Athenian, B a Roman.  Their fathers are old friends; B's father sends B to A's father. A and B resemble each other physi- cally. B goes to Athens to study philos- ophy. A marriage has been arranged for A. A's betrothed is of high birth and station. A opposed to marriage, lest it im- pair his friendship with B. B's first sight of A's betrothed comes about through A's taking B to see her.								

<sup>1</sup> For texts used, see Bibliography.



[illegible]

TABLE OF VARIOUS VERSIONS OF THE LEGEND OF TWO FRIENDS. — Continued.

Oliver Goldsmith: <i>Septimius and Alexander</i> . In <i>The Bee</i> , No. 1, 1579.	Kinmen prosecute A for giving up his bride for money, as they allege. He is condemned to pay a fine; unable to pay he is sold into slavery and is taken to Thrace. ✓ He escapes and reaches Rome.					✓
Lyly: <i>Euphues</i> . 1578.						
Sir Thomas Elyot: <i>The Governor</i> . 1531. Bk. II, ch. 12.	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Boccaccio: <i>Decam.</i> X. 8: <i>Tito and Gisippo</i> . 1353.		✓		✓	✓	o✓
<i>Athis et Prophilias</i> . Circ. 1200.	✓	✓	✓		✓	o✓
<i>El Cavallero Cifar</i> . Early 14th Cent.	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Nicolaus Pergamus: <i>Dialogus Creaturarum</i> . 13th or 14th Cent.		✓			✓	✓
Thomas de Cantimpré: <i>De Proprietibus Apum</i> . After 1251.		✓			✓	B's servant for-gets to an-nounce A
<i>Gesta Romanorum</i> (Acknowledges <i>Disc. Cler.</i> as Source).		✓			✓	✓
Petrus Alphonsus: <i>Disciplina Clericalis</i> . Circ. 1106.		✓			✓	✓
After B's departure, resentment against A breaks out.						
A consequently falls into poverty and misery.						
A goes into exile because of kinsmen.						
A goes into exile because of civic broils.						
A arrives at B's city.						
A does not show himself to B.						
A shows himself, but B passes him unrecognized.						

At the time, B and his wife are going for a ride on horseback.	In a temple	In a cemetery	In a temple	Sleeps at altar in a hermitage	✓	○ In a cave	○ In a cave	✓	B, himself, is <i>practor</i> , is holding court. In a tomb.
A wanders to the outskirts of the city, and passes the night.	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓	○ In a cave	○ In a cave	✓ ✓	✓ A is brought before B himself; offers no defence; B is about to condemn him, when
A murder is committed. A is apprehended, and in his despair confesses in order to die; B passes place of judgment, recognizes A, and accuses himself.	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓	○ In a cave	○ In a cave	✓ ✓	✓ A is brought before B himself; offers no defence; B is about to condemn him, when
A and B contend as to which shall die for the other. Murderer confesses. Murderer is pardoned. Murderers are discovered by means of their own talk overheard; they are executed.	*○✓ *○✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	○✓	○✓	○✓	○✓ ○✓	↓ ✓; and only then does B recognize A.
B offers A the choice of remaining with him, or returning to his own city, enriched. A remains and becomes a citizen of B's city.	*○✓						*○✓	*○✓	
A marries B's sister.			B's kinswoman				✓		✓ "Shared the friendship and honour of the principal citizens of Rome."
A returns to his own city, enriched. A is restored to his city by B, who gathers an army and punishes the kinsmen.	✓					○✓	○✓	✓ ✓	

Second part of "A and P"; gathering of armies and siege of Athens

Second part of "A and P": gathering of armies and siege of Athens



## CHAPTER II

### SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

In view of the detailed discussion, in the present chapter, of the plot, motifs and narrative structure of Sidney's "Arcadia," it seems well to give here a rather full analysis.<sup>1</sup>

#### MAIN PLOT

A. Basilius, the aged King of Arcadia, receives in Delphos an Oracle (mentioned, I. iii-iv, 12-16; given in full II. xxviii, 225v.), which declares that his elder daughter shall be stolen from him and yet not lost; that his younger shall embrace an unnatural love; that their husbands shall plead at his bier though he be not dead; that a foreign prince shall sit on his throne; and that, before all this, Basilius shall commit adultery with his own wife. To avoid fulfilment of this oracle, he retires to the forest with his family, leaving as regent his faithful councillor Philanax. His younger daughter Philoclea he keeps in his own lodge guarded by himself and his young Queen Gynecia; his elder daughter Pa-

<sup>1</sup> References containing *chapter-numbers*, e. g., "I. xvii, 75v.," are to book, chapter and folio of the Quarto of 1590. After folio-numbers, "v." indicates *verso*; its absence, *recto*.

References not containing chapter-numbers, e. g., "IV. 419," are to book and page of the Folio of 1627.

Cross-references within the analysis are based on the following system: portions of the Main Plot are lettered *A, B*, etc.; portions of the Previous History of the Princes are lettered *a, b*, etc.; Episodes are numbered 1, 2, 3, etc., with subdivisions lettered *a, b*, etc.

mela he commits to the guardianship of his chief shepherd Dametas, who lives in another lodge with his wife Miso and daughter Mopsa. All men of rank are forbidden access to the princesses (I. ix, 36).

B. (I. xiii-xiv, 57-64v.) Pyrocles, Prince of Macedon, having fallen in love with the picture and description of Philoclea, disguises himself as an Amazon and betakes himself to the neighborhood of Basilius's lodge. The King, in love with the fair Amazon at sight, asks her to remain. Gynecia penetrates Pyrocles's disguise, and falls desperately in love with him. Though she is jealous of her daughter, her love prevents her disclosing her discovery. His name as the Amazon is *Zelmane*.

C. (I. xviii, 76v.-79v.) Musidorus, Prince of Thessalia, and Pyrocles's cousin and friend, beholds Pamela, and falls in love with her. Not long thereafter Pyrocles finds him disguised as a shepherd. His shepherd's weeds he has bought from the herdsman Menalcas, who, he feels, must now be put out of the way, lest he betray him. So Musidorus says he is a fugitive from Thessaly, where by chance he has killed a favorite of the Prince; and he sends Menalcas to Thessaly with a letter to his friend and servant Calodoulus ostensibly inquiring about the chances for his return, but really directing Calodoulus to detain Menalcas, as a prisoner, and treat him well. (For Calodoulus as *deus ex machina*, see V. 417, ed. 1627.)

Upon the occasion of the annual pastoral games (I. xix, 80v.-85v.), he offers his service (and a sum of money) to Dametas, feigning himself to have been recommended to D. by his elder brother the shepherd Menalcas, and by his father, both dead. His own name, he says, is *Dorus*. Dametas agrees

to take him if he that day prove acceptable to the King. A lion attacking Philoclea is killed by Zelmane; a bear attacking Pamela is killed by Dorus. The King willingly grants Dorus permission to remain with Dametas. Thereupon they all go to hear The First Eclogues.

Both Gynecia and Basilius (II. i, 100, 101v.) make a declaration of love to Zelmane. Dorus pretends to court Mopsa in order really to court Pamela (II. ii, 104v.-107v.), who gives him such signs of favor as to encourage him to tell her the story of his life (II. iii, 109v.-111), purporting to be the story of Musidorus, a prince of Thessaly. He ends his very brief recital (of the early portions of *a*, and of *d*) by asserting that the Prince is disguised as a shepherd for love of the Princess Pamela, and that the end of his story is not yet, but belongs to the destinies and to astrology.

When the two sisters are abed together (II. v, 121-122v.), Pamela confesses to Philoclea her love for Musidorus, whose indirect self-revelation and courtship she has of course understood without letting him see that she has done so, or giving him any mark of favor. On the morrow (II. vi, 125v., II. x, 147v.) she calls him to give an account of the parentage and early life of Pyrocles and Musidorus. He relates *a*, lapsing once (f 137) into the first person, to his confusion and Pamela's amusement.

D. (II. xi, 147v.-155) The princesses bathe in the river Ladon. A water-spaniel [see I. xi, 49 (*2b*)] which has been playing among the reeds, runs off with Philoclea's glove; and leads Zelmane to his master Amphialus, who in his solitary wanderings has chanced upon this spot, and been taken captive by the charms of his cousin Philoclea. Zelmane in



a jealous fury forces him to fight, and wounds him in the thigh, promising that her near kinsman Pyrocles shall further uphold that quarrel. The Princesses now being dressed come up and recognize their cousin. He excuses himself, restores the glove, and retires to nurse both his wounds.

Pyrocles reads Plangus's plaint for Erona (II. xii, 156-158v.), as written down by Basilius when Plangus recently passed through Arcadia. At his request (II. xiii, 160-162v.) Philoclea tells *5a* (which Pyrocles knows already, as he has been a chief actor in these events); and he calls upon Pamela to tell the story of Plangus; but is interrupted (II. xiv, 163-166) by Miso with an account of an emblematic picture she once saw of Love as a monster, and by Mopsa with a clumsy fairy-tale. Philoclea having induced Mopsa to reserve the ending of the tale (II. xv, 166-172), Pamela tells *6a*. She is just coming to the story of Antiphilus's treason to Erona, when Basilius comes in, and again puts off the conclusion. Basilius commissions Philoclea to plead his cause (II. xvi, 172v.-175v.).

Pyrocles-Zelmane is lamenting on Ladon's bank and writing his plaint on the sand, when Philoclea finds him (II. xvii, 176-179v.) and begins Basilius's plea. He interrupts her with his own, reveals his love, and is assured of hers. He also declares his name and rank. At her request, he then takes up the narrative of the adventures of Pyrocles and Musidorus, from the point where Musidorus left off *a* (II. x, 147) and where Philoclea herself had suspended the account she had received from Plangus, *5a* (II. xiv, 162v.). Pyrocles's continuation is *b*.

*E.* Pyrocles having finished his narrative (II. xviii-xxiv), Philoclea resumes Erona's story (II. xxiv, 212), but he interrupts her with his love mak-

ing, and Miso interrupts with scolding and threats.

Gynecia (II. xxv, 213-214) has just had an ill-boding dream, when Miso tells her that Zelmane and Philoclea have been together alone. Love and jealousy conflict in Gynecia's heart; she soliloquizes, and, hastening to the young people, sends Philoclea away to Basilius. Gynecia is beginning to declare her passion to Pyrocles (II. xxv, 214v.-216), when a rout of drunken and rebellious clowns comes up and attacks them. Pyrocles keeps the rebels at bay until the ladies have made good their retreat to the lodge. Musidorus comes to his cousin's assistance, and together they perform prodigies of valor.

The populace attack the lodge with axe and fire (II. xxvi, 216-220); Zelmane goes out, mounts the throne near the gate, and in a long and eloquent harangue brings them to the point of submission. At this (II. xxvii, 220-224), one Clinias, a sly, plausible fellow with a smattering of education and a gift of words, who has been an actor, who is now Cecropia's tool to stir up sedition in Arcadia for the advancement of her son Amphialus, and who indeed has incited this very insurrection, sees his chance to swim with the stream; he loudly admonishes the insurgents to lay down their arms, and behave as he and other faithful subjects have all along advised!

A certain young farmer, who has become enamored of Zelmane, has hopes that if the insurgents win, Zelmane will be granted to him. Now he strikes Clinias a great wound upon the face,—who scrambles to the throne and is protected by Zelmane. At the farmer's blow, the mob is in an uproar. Every man's hand is against his neighbor; the leaders are soon killed, the farmer among them; and Zelmane, Basilius and Dorus complete their rout.

Clinias now accounts for the insurrection as merely a piece of drunken folly, the result of the people's excessive potations the day before in honor of the King's birthday. He is believed and dismissed. Basilius sends to Philanax for a conference, and to other noblemen to investigate the insurrection.

(II. xxviii, 224-227) Clinias hurries away to warn Cecropia that the investigation bodes danger to her, and that she had better take some speedy resolution. Basilius contemplates returning to public life, as he considers that the most threatening portions of the oracle—the text of which he now (225v.) for the first time gives Philanax (and the reader)—have already been happily fulfilled: princely Zelmane by occupying his mind has taken from him the care of his elder daughter Pamela, who yet is not lost; his younger has come to love Zelmane at his command, but that love was hated by Nature—viz., by Gynecia's natural jealousy; the sitting in his seat he dreams already performed by Zelmane when she mounted his throne to confront the insurgents; the adultery he hopes to commit with Zelmane, whom afterwards he will have to wife. As for his daughters' marriage to such dangerous husbands,—that he will prevent by keeping them unmarried. So he sings a Hymn to Apollo, bids the shepherds prepare for rural pastimes, and relates to Zelmane (II. xxix, 227v.-233v.) the story, so long deferred, of Erona's distress (5b). The shepherds open their "Second Eclogues."

(III. i, 244-247v.) Moved by Musidorus's recent danger, Pamela gives him signs of her love; by which encouraged he offers to kiss her. She puts him away in deep disdain and offense. Despairing he retires to the forest.

[Now follows the long Episode of the Captivity:  
8. The Main Plot is afterwards resumed in the



Folio of 1627, which is *not divided into chapters*; so that the absence here of references to chapters will suffice to show that the citation is from this edition.]

### BOOK III

F. (347-350) After Basilius has received his daughters and Zelmane back from their captivity (see 8), and has returned to his retirement at the lodges, Zelmane and Dorus tell each other their adventures; and the latter discloses a plan that he and Pamela have formed to elope from the nearest seaport, and remain virgin till he can invest her with the Dukedom of Thessalia. The Princes, with much courtly protestation of friendship, resolve to part.

Zelmane (351-354) on her way to Dorus's lodging enters a cave, and perceives a lady lying prostrate in a corner and dolefully soliloquizing. In the course of her lament, the lady names herself: it is Gynecia! Zelmane hastily retreating makes a noise and is discovered. Gynecia holds Zelmane back, pleads for love, declares that she has penetrated Pyrocles's disguise, and threatens that if he still disdains her, her vengeance shall involve Philoclea as well as him and herself. Pyrocles decides that his only course is to yield.

Meanwhile (355-6) Musidorus has hired a ship at the port, and a carriage to go there: all that remains is to get Dametas, Miso and Mopsa out of the way. To Dametas he tells a tale of one Aristomenes's treasure which he has partly unearthed, at a place ten miles away in a direction opposite that of the seaport: there are rich medals, and a cypress chest, and, further down, a stone whose hollow sound promises a still richer vault. Thither Dametas betakes himself, and is duly encouraged by finding the medals with which Musidorus has "salted

the mine." To Miso (357-9), as soon as her husband is gone, Musidorus tells how he has seen Dametas dallying with a pretty shepherdess Charita. They have made an assignation for that very night in *Oudemia* Street, Mantinea! Off hurries the jealous shrew. Now for Mopsa,—whom Musidorus would readily tie up if Pamela did not say No. So he tells Mopsa (360-361) that Apollo, after his servitude to Admetus, having been received back by Jupiter from the top of a neighboring ash tree, has made it a wishing tree. Whoever in the state of a shepherd will sit in this tree, muffled in a scarlet cloak, shall have his wish, as sure as Musidorus loves Mopsa! He leaves her perched on the tree-top, so muffled that she can not undo the cloak, and so high that she can scarce get down without help. There she is to remain till a voice calls her three times: then she is to answer boldly.

The lovers (361-5) ride off through the forest, till Pamela, tired out, rests her head on Musidorus's knee and falls asleep. While he contemplates her charms a crew of clownish villains comes shouting in.

Pyrocles in the cave with Gynecia (365-7) confesses himself a man and a Prince, acknowledges his love for Philoclea, but feigns that it can not compare with his passion for Gynecia; who gives a half promise that her daughter shall be the price of his complaisance. This Pyrocles promises, and then draws Gynecia from the cave lest she insist upon an immediate consummation.

Pyrocles muses (372-4) all night how to rid himself of his two unwelcome lovers, till he begins to see the outlines of a stratagem. At dinner that day, in the presence of both King and Queen, he gives such signs of favor that the King (375-377) asks

the Queen to look after Philoclea, who has taken to her bed in despair at Pyrocles's pretended abandonment of her. Alone with Basilius, Pyrocles appoints that night for a rendezvous in the cave. Then he steps to Philoclea's room, and, still feigning indifference toward her, takes Gynecia aside into a bay window and appoints for her the same time and place. Each—both King and Queen—is to make sure that the other is asleep. After supper, which all three hasten through, Gynecia pretends to be unwell, and goes to bed, in order to set Basilius a good example—who is indeed well pleased at her early retirement. But now Pyrocles takes her once more aside (378-380), and as if by way of afterthought, suggests that she may with greater ease be first in the cave; she is to take his outer garment, let she rouse suspicion; he himself, muffled in *her* garments, as a sick woman might plausibly be, will lie by Basilius's side until the King sleeps, and then will steal away to the cave and to her. Confused by the suddenness of the plan, and his quick offer of his outer garments, and induced by the thought that the grantor must be allowed his own way of granting, she yields, giving him, as is needful, the key of the lodge,—the object of his stratagem. So Pyrocles lies down in the King's bed with head and face hidden. Gynecia happening upon an old love-philtre, which she has never used, now pours it into a jewelled cup to make sure of Pyrocles, and goes with it to the cave, where she lies expectant. Meanwhile Basilius, who has waited in Philoclea's room till Gynecia should be asleep, creeps darkling to his chamber, treading softly, colliding with sharp corners everywhere, and in fear at every creak he makes. Where assuring himself that his bedfellow sleeps, he steals forth to the cave.



He enters the bed and, calling upon the name of Zelmane, embraces her he finds there; who dares not reveal who she is, and so receives him gently.

As soon as Basilius is gone, Pyrocles bars the gate, (381-387), and fortifies the lodge as well as he can impromptu, in order that his and Philoclea's preparations for escape may not be interrupted. Then he hastens to her chamber, which being open, he overhears her sing two sonnets and speak a soliloquy lamenting his desertion of her and accusing him of inconstancy. He enters, hears her direct charge, gives his justification in his plan for their escape together, and upon her still expressing disbelief falls into a swoon. She repents, but is too weak to endure a journey. Then he realizes his folly in not sooner acquainting her with his device, her sudden knowledge whereof has rendered impossible its execution. So he lies down by her side, and they both fall asleep.

(End of Book III. "The Third Eclogue" follows.)

#### BOOK IV

Dametas digs all day, until, when he at last turns over the great stone, he finds naught there but a mocking couplet. Returning in disgust and weariness (404-409), he finds his house deserted, and so fares forth again at his wits' end. There he beholds Mopsa in her ash tree, and calls her, first joyfully, then impatiently, then with curses; who at the third call throws out her arms to Apollo, loses her hold, and comes tumbling down. To all his questions about Pamela's escape she keeps repeating her wish to Apollo that a King may be her husband; till Dametas thinks her mad, and lays hands upon her to shake her back to her wits. At this moment arrives Miso, after a vain search for Dametas in

Mantineia—where no such girl as Charita and no such street as Oudemia are known! Finding him with a young woman in his arms, she soundly cudgels them both. Still thinking and talking at cross purposes, the three return to their lodge, and now begin to realize the prospect of serious punishment for Pamela's escape. At last Dametas, thinking that Pamela may have gone to spend the night with her sister, betakes himself to the King's lodge, and, though to his astonishment he finds the gate barred, yet lets himself in at a cellar-door which has escaped the notice of Pyrocles. In Philoclea's chamber he finds the sleeping lovers, takes from the room all weapons, and fast bars the door. Then he bruits abroad what he has seen; until a shepherd comes running to him crying "The King is dead."

In fact (409-416), as morning approaches, Basilius has left his wife's side to go to his wife's side. While he stands in the mouth of the cave, she rises and discloses herself to him, and overwhelms him with shame and repentance, but is very willing to forgive his offense. This magnanimity delights him, and the two are perfectly reconciled, when Basilius espies the potion, and despite Gynecia's remonstrances, drinks it off. He falls apparently dead. Gynecia feels herself morally guilty of his death, and recalls her dream (II. xxv, 212v.-213) which she interprets to mean that she too must die. She therefore tries to give herself up a prisoner to the shepherds who soon arrive. For all her confessions of guilt they are scarcely prevailed upon to take her into custody. Their lamentations reach the ear of Philanax, who, more resolute, places Gynecia under strong guard. Dametas and Miso too he causes to be imprisoned and flogged for their negligence. He sends out a search for Pamela, and then proceeds to the King's lodge.

Pyrocles wakes immediately after Dametas leaves the place, and finds himself disarmed and both himself and Philoclea prisoners (417-426). After a survey of the chamber, he is able to break out only a bar from the window, sufficient for a weapon but not for escape. He hears too the loud voice of Dametas without, proclaiming the disgrace of Philoclea, and realizes that, according to the Arcadian law, he has brought death upon her. The only alternative he can think of is to kill himself, that she may seem to have killed him in defence of her honor. He does indeed fall upon the iron window bar, which, however, is too blunt to do more than pierce his skin and bruise his ribs. The noise of his fall wakes Philoclea, who runs to him in horror, and implores him to give up his fell intent. He tells her why he has chosen this course, and the two discuss suicide. At last, upon her threat that if he kill himself she will kill herself too, he consents to live, announcing, however, that he expects her to support his assertion that he came thither to violate her chastity but failed, and to withhold his real name, for the honor of his house. Both are now taken into custody by Philanax.

The boors who (III. 365) waked Pamela are those remnants of the Arcadian rebels who did not submit but retired to hide in the forest. They now recognize Musidorus as having made such havoc among them during their revolt, and (427-433) Pamela as a valuable means whereby to purchase their peace with the King. Accordingly they capture the lovers, whom they decide to return to Basilius. Next day, Musidorus has almost succeeded in persuading their captors to go along with them to Thessalia and gain great reward, when the whole party meet a troop of Philanax's horsemen,



and the boors' present fears overcome their cupidity; so that they go forward. But it is to their death. For the horsemen, learning who they are, and desiring for themselves the credit of bringing in Musidorus and Pamela, kill the rebels every one. The prisoners they deliver to Philanax just as Pyrocles is being taken into custody. Pyrocles breaks from his guards and embraces Musidorus. Philanax, in order to sift the matter, has them confined together under surveillance. Pamela claims to be her father's heir, even under the Arcadian law that a female heir must be either twenty-one or married; for, she says, she is married. But Philanax confines her in the lodge with Philoclea.

Now arises great dissension (434-438) as to the polity and the ruler to be chosen for Arcadia; amid all of which Philanax moves quietly onward to his purpose of bringing the King's murderers to justice. Timautus, an ambitious nobleman, whose proposal that Philanax shall marry one of the Princesses and he himself the other has been scornfully rejected by Philanax, attacks him openly in a speech to an assemblage of the nobles. While Philanax is answering, news comes of a fresh insurrection. Kalander, seeing the Princes imprisoned, has been by his old love and admiration for them fired with desire not only to set them free, but to commit Arcadia to their rule. He has persuaded the citizens of Mantinea to support his enterprise. Philanax considers the uprising so dangerous as to warrant him in secretly removing the Princes, even in having them killed at once. But their custodian, Simpathus, will not consent to either course. Thus the day ends in tumult. The shepherds begin their Eclogues at sunset.

(End of Book IV. "The fourth Eclogue" follows.)

## BOOK V

In the midst of these troubles (444-453), Evarchus, King of Macedon, father of Pyrocles and uncle of Musidorus, arrives with a troop of twenty horsemen, purposing to visit his old friend Basilus. But hearing of the King's death, he sends to Philanax, offering to remain and take part in the funeral. In the arrival of this King, renowned for his justice even more than for his victories, Philanax sees the salvation of Arcadia. To him he will commit jurisdiction. Evarchus is to sit in judgment the very next day. To this the assemblage agrees, only Timautus opposing, whom the mob thereupon attacks with sticks and stones, so that with the loss of an eye he is forced to seek the protection of Philanax. Evarchus consents to take jurisdiction of the cause in hand; and with Philanax rides to the lodges, where the people, who are still assembled though it is late at night, receive him with acclaim. After addressing them and setting the trial for the morrow, he bids them retire.

That night (453-458) Gynecia spends in painful thoughts and dreams; the Princesses in mutual confidences and in writing letters to their prosecutors; the Princes in protestations of friendship, in deprecation of each other's sorrow, in declaration that their loves were worth all this grief and more, in high thoughts of the life to come, and in a brave sonnet against the fear of death. Kalander has brought them their princely garments, which they don. Just before dawn they fall asleep, and sleep until their summons comes.

The trial begins (458-463). Evarchus clad in black sits upon Basilus's throne, which has been placed in the midst of the green; the people about it, all silent and orderly; the King's body on a bier

before it; and Philanax as prosecutor. The Princesses, it is decided, need not be sent for. Gynecia is led forth first, ill-apparelled and dejected; then come the two Princes, most splendidly arrayed, and with erected countenances. As Musidorus passes among the Arcadians, he harangues them in favor of Pamela, for he does not know that she is not to be tried; and as soon as Pyrocles stands before the judge he pleads for Philoclea, again taking upon himself whatever blame may be supposed to rest upon her, and begging to know what is to be her fate. Evarchus at once decides that she is to be a life-long prisoner "among certaine women of religion like the *Vestall Nunnes*"; whereat Pyrocles rejoices, both that her life is safe, and that none else shall ever enjoy her. When Philanax is opening his case against the Queen, she stops him and repeats her confession. Thereupon Evarchus condemns her to be buried alive with Basilius.

Next (464-472) the Princes are arraigned, and their denial of the Arcadian jurisdiction is overruled. Philanax then inveighs against Pyrocles; and Pyrocles answers, telling the truth, except that he shields Gynecia by declaring that he told her of her husband's assignation with Zelmane, and sent her to the cave to take Zelmane's place. That explains, too, the Queen's wearing Zelmane's garment. He demands a trial by combat with Philanax, who is willing; but Evarchus refuses to grant it.

The court proceeds to try Musidorus (472-475). Philanax inveighs against him. Musidorus replies, reminding the court of the service he and Pyrocles have rendered against the insurgents, and suggesting finally that the way out of the difficulty is to marry the Princesses to the Princes.

Evarchus now gives judgment (475-477). Both



the question of jurisdiction and the questions of fact he decides against the Princes. Finally he sentences Pyrocles to be thrown from a tower, and Musidorus to be beheaded.

As the Princes are being led away (477-478), Kalander comes rushing up, bringing with him Calodoulus the Thessalian, that friend of Musidorus to whom Musidorus sent Menalcas to be detained (I. xviii, 79-79v.). Calodoulus has thus been informed of the Princes' whereabouts (the only person so informed except Pamela and Philoclea); and auguring ill of the undertaking, especially when Menalcas told him of Musidorus's disguise, has written to Evarchus and has himself come from Thessaly to Arcadia to do what he can. From Kalander he has just learned of the trial, and has identified the shepherd Dorus as his own Prince. Now he tells Evarchus who the prisoners are.

Philanax is mollified (479-481); not so Evarchus, who confirms the sentence. Thereupon Musidorus defies his uncle as far as he himself is concerned, but pleads for the life of Pyrocles. Pyrocles gently stops Musidorus's harsh words to Evarchus, and gently begs Evarchus to spare the life of Musidorus. Thus the two continue to vie with each other in generosity; till Evarchus again commands that they be led away.

But now (481-482) those near the bier of Basilius hear him groan, and perceive his body stir. He is alive: the supposed love-potion was only a sleeping-draught. Timed for thirty hours, it has kept the weak frame of Basilius rather longer under its influence; but he is quite revived.

He now sees that the oracle is fulfilled indeed. He sends for Gynecia, asks her pardon, clears her of all charges against her, and with great honor

restores her to the throne. Pyrocles is married to Philoclea, Musidorus to Pamela. Philanax, Calodoulus, Kalander, Clitophon, and Sympathus, are all fully rewarded.—The stories of Artaxia and Plexirtus; of Erona and Plangus; of Helen and Amphialus; of Menalcas and the daughter of Calodoulus; of Strephan and Klaius; of the son of *Pyrocles* and *Philoclea*, named *Pyrophilus*, and of the daughter of *Musidorus* and *Pamela*, named *Melidora*—these some other pen may write: mine is weary.

#### HISTORY OF PYROCLES AND MUSIDORUS BEFORE THEY ENTER THE MAIN PLOT

(a) (II. vi, 126-129). Evarchus, King of Macedon, gave his only sister in marriage to his friend Dorilaus King of Thessalia. Their son was Musidorus. The soothsayers at his birth predicting that he should overcome certain Kingdoms, the Kings of Phrygia, Lydia and Crete combined to destroy him, and to that end invaded Thessalia, but were repulsed by the aid of Evarchus. Evarchus now married the sister of Dorilaus, and by her had a son Pyrocles, for whom also there were wonderful prognostications.

Pyrocles was sent (II. vii, 129v.-133v.) to be reared with his cousin Musidorus. When Evarchus was besieging Byzantium, he sent for the two cousins, now grown friends as well, who prepared a fleet and set sail. A storm scattered the fleet and drove their ship upon a rock.

(II. viii, 134-138v.) Pyrocles was cast ashore upon the coast of Phrygia, and was quickly taken to the King, a cruel, suspicious tyrant; who learning how his captive came thither and suspecting that the fleet had been gathered against himself,

made preparations to take his life. Musidorus, rescued by a fisherman of Pontus, heard of his friend's peril, and through a nobleman of that country offered himself in the stead of Pyrocles to be executed. The King, very glad to kill his chief enemy, accepted the offer and set Pyrocles free. In disguise, Pyrocles procured his acceptance as the executioner's assistant, and upon the scaffold appeared not only armed himself, but bearing the executioner's sword as well. This he put into Musidorus's hand, saying "Die nobly." The two quickly cleared the scaffold, but would soon have been overpowered, if a quarrel between two soldiers had not just then issued in a general riot of the troops. Hereupon the King fled from his post of observation; a rumor of his death went about; and some of the younger nobles cried "Liberty," routed the citizens, overpowered the guard, and took possession of the city. The insurgents made Musidorus their chief and crowned him on the scaffold!

But (II. ix, 139-x, 142) the Princes left Phrygia to seek fresh adventures. In Galatia (II. x, 142v.-147) they succored the King (unnamed) and his true-born pious son Leonatus, against his wicked bastard son Plexirtus. (See 4, *a* and *b*.)

In Lycia (II. x, 147-xiii, 162v.) they came to the assistance of Queen Erona, whom (Tiridates) the King of Armenia, aided by Plangus, Barzanes, and Evardes, was besieging. (See 5*a*.)

(*b*) Evardes having been slain by Pyrocles (II. xviii, 181-185), Anaxius, the eldest and proudest of Evardes's three nephews, sought to avenge his death. He challenged Pyrocles to single combat; who accepting departed from Queen Erona and from Musidorus too, that he might try the adventure alone. But Musidorus followed, to be at hand in time of need. On the way, Pyrocles witnessed the adventure of Pamphilus (7*a*).



After making peace, as he supposed, between Pamphilus and Dido, Pyrocles (II. xix, 185v.-190) rode on to his meeting with Anaxius, who attacked him at once. The combatants broke their lances at the first encounter, then for a while fought with swords, until Anaxius's horse was impaled upon a broken lance. At that both champions dismounting continued to fight on foot, when, Dido passing by as Pamphilus's captive, Pyrocles rode off to her rescue, despite the taunts and jeers of Anaxius and the country folk about. This rescue accomplished, he lodged that night at the house of Dido's father, Chremes, whose treachery next day (7*b*) resulted in Pyrocles being rejoined by Musidorus.

The King of Iberia, coming thither by chance, stopped the fray and invited the Princes to his court (II. xx, 191-194), where they were presented to his Queen, Andromana. (See 6*b*.) Andromana fell in love with them both, and scrupled not to show her passion to both, soliciting them openly. But being continually repulsed, she thought to force them, and so upon a false charge that they were plotting to overthrow the Kingdom (as they had done in Pontus and Phrygia) she had them imprisoned, but continued to implore their love. It happened that Palladius, son of the King and Queen, loved his cousin Zelmane (daughter to his mother's half-brother, Plexirtus, who had left her at the Iberian court to avoid the insecurity of his own estate). But she loved Pyrocles, and begged Palladius to have the Princes set free. Palladius pleaded with his mother in vain. But another opportunity favored them.

In Iberia, jousts (II. xxi, 194v.-198v.) are held each year at the anniversary of the royal wedding day. On this occasion the Knights of Queen Helen of Corinth bade fair to carry off the honors; and

at length Palladius persuaded his mother to let Pyrocles and Musidorus take part in the tournament for the honor of Iberia. They were sworn to go no further than Palladius went, and to attend him wherever he did go. When, therefore, he rode away from the lists, they went with him unresisted, and made good their escape into Bithynia. But now Andromana sent a troop in pursuit, and herself came with it. The Princes and Palladius easily put it to flight; and Palladius rashly pursued. One of his own subjects—one who had been a favorite of Andromana and was jealous of the Princes—mistook Palladius for one of them, and slew him. Andromana stabbed herself on her son's body and died.

Parting thence (II. xxii, 199–203v.), the Princes learned from the lament of Leucippe the end of the story of Pamphilus. (See 7c.) Further on they were overtaken by Zelmane, disguised as a page under the name Daiphantus, who for love of Pyrocles had followed him thus, and now offered him her services. Not recognizing her, he accepted, and she served him devotedly for two months. On the border of Galatia they witnessed the fatal combat, incited by the wiles of Plexirtus, between his faithful friends, the brothers Tydeus and Telenor (see 4c); and they got the story from the leader of the band which was to have killed whichever brother should survive.

The news of her father's treachery so smote Zelmane (II. xxiii, 204–208), that, languishing as she was for love, she now pined away. Her fatal stroke was the further news that her father was in danger of losing his life, unless he were rescued at once. Hereupon she disclosed her identity, confessed her hopeless love, and begged a last boon of the Princes: Pyrocles was to rescue her father, and upon his

return to Greece was to take the name Daiphantus, in her memory; Musidorus at the same time was to take the name Palladius, in memory of her hapless lover; and they were to bury her obscurely, not suffering her friends to know her fate. Then she died.

Pyrocles rode off, much against his will, to rescue Plexirtus, leaving Musidorus to help the King of Pontus against Otaves, brother to that Barzanes whom Musidorus slew in defence of Erona (xiii, 161).

Both these adventures the Princes accomplished successfully. Pyrocles set Plexirtus free by killing the monster that was to have devoured him. Musidorus slew Otaves's giant allies and took Otaves prisoner, but spared him and made him a friend.

Then the Princes hastened to take ship (II. xxiv, 208v.-211v.) for Greece. They wished to return to their parents; to resume the interrupted combat with Anaxius (II. xix, 186v.), who sought Pyrocles throughout Peloponnesus, defaming him as he went; and to visit Arcadia, famous for the valor of Argalus and Amphialus and for the beauty of its princesses. Their ship was royally furnished by Plexirtus, who made such professions of repentance and goodwill that they actually began to trust him, and set sail. But when they began to look for land, an old man whom Plexirtus had sent with them as guide disclosed to them that he and the Captain had been commissioned by Plexirtus to murder them in their sleep: thus Plexirtus hoped to gain the hand of Artaxia and her Kingdom of Armenia, which she had promised to whosoever should kill the Princes. When the ship neared Greece, they saw the Captain whisper the old man that the time was come, and the old man try to dissuade him. Thereupon the Captain commanded his crew to take the Princes



alive or dead, and, the old man commanding them the contrary, the Captain gave him a blow. Thus the mellay began; friend and foe indistinguishably fought in that narrow space; the old man was killed by one of his own side; some of the crew joined to defend the Princes; and a little remnant took to a boat, which others again leapt into and swamped. At last a fire broke out, stopped the fighting, and engaged the efforts of all the survivors. In vain. The Princes leapt overboard. Pyrocles finding the Captain clinging to a floating mast, killed him, and bestrode the mast himself.

[Here the "Arcadia" opens, *in mediis rebus*.]

(c) On the coast of Laconia (I. i, 1-6), Pyrocles and Musidorus escape from the burning ship. Musidorus, cast ashore and revived by the shepherds, sails out to rescue Pyrocles, who is found riding a mast. Just then pirates frighten off the rescuers, and take Pyrocles. Musidorus gives up the rescue perforce.

(d) Musidorus is conducted by the shepherds to Arcadia (I. ii, 6-iv, 18), where Kalander, a gentleman of that country, entertains him under the name Palladius, and tells him *A*.

Kalander now hears (I. v, 18-24) that his son Clitophon, who is about to be married, has been taken prisoner by the Helots, then in revolt against the Laconians. To account for Clitophon's participation in that fight, Kalander's steward tells Musidorus *1a*.

Musidorus and Kalander head an expedition (I. vi, 24-28) to rescue Clitophon. By M.'s direction the Arcadians disguise themselves as rebellious peasants, and, placing chains upon the gentlemen of their army, offer to make common cause with the Helots. These, in the absence of their leader, admit the Arcadians to Cardamila, their city, where the

gentlemen are soon released and lead an attack from within the walls. In this fight the Helots are about to be worsted, when their leader Daiphantus (= Pyrocles) returns, rallies them, and confronts Musidorus, whose helmet he strikes off. Thereupon he recognizes his friend and declares himself.

(*e*) Pyrocles is kept in the hold by the pirates (I. viii, 34-35v.) until they are hard pressed by a Laconian galley, when they arm him and other prisoners, promising them liberty as a reward for a good defense. In the fight Pyrocles kills the commander of the galley, but is himself taken, and lodged in prison at Tenaria. The revolting Helots make a jail-delivery and release him. His valor in several minor combats leads them to choose him, under the name Daiphantus, to their leadership, just left vacant by the slaying of Demagoras. (See *1a*.) Here he gains so many victories that he is able to negotiate a very advantageous peace with the Spartans. These negotiations are what cause his absence at the time of the Arcadian attack upon Cardamila. But at the critical moment he returns, rallies the Helots, and fights with Musidorus until he strikes off his friend's helmet and recognizes him (*d ad fin.*). The fight is stopped (I. vi, 26-28). Pyrocles persuades the Helots to give up Clitophon and Argalus, who return with the Princes and Kalander to the latter's house. There they all witness *1b*.

(*f*) Musidorus and Pyrocles now (I. viii, 33-35) tell each other *d* and *e* respectively, thus bringing their adventures up to the moment of the narration itself; and Musidorus repeats *A* for the benefit of Pyrocles, at the same time showing him the picture of Philoclea on the wall of a pavilion in Kalander's garden. Kalander at Pyrocles's request also gives him information about *A*. With this and with

the picture, Pyrocles falls in love (I. ix, 35v.-38; I. xiii, 57); partly confesses his passion to Musidorus, and takes occasion of a hunt (I. x, 40) to slip away secretly to the Arcadian court. [He thus enters the Main Plot, at B.]

A letter which he leaves for Musidorus (I. x, 40v.-41v.) tells only that he goes because of love, but tells not whither. Musidorus and Clitophon depart to seek him.

In the valley they find the scattered pieces of a suit of armor (I. x, 42-43v.), which Clitophon recognizes as that of his cousin Amphialus. Musidorus puts it on. Soon they are attacked by the armed escort of a coach, and valiantly defending themselves, kill or rout their assailants. They find in the coach a beautiful lady (Queen Helen of Corinth) gazing intently upon a picture (that of Amphialus). Addressing Musidorus by the name of Amphialus, she begs him to end her woes. He discloses himself and asks her to tell her story. She relates *2a* (I. xi, 44-48).

Scarcely has she concluded, when Ismenus, Amphialus's page, dressed in Musidorus's armor, attacks Musidorus (I. xi, 48v.-49v.) for wearing Amphialus's armor. Clitophon recognizing Ismenus, explains matters and ends the attack. Ismenus promises to return his master's armor as soon as he dare venture to approach him. He relates *2b*. Queen Helen proceeds on her journey, attended by Clitophon. Musidorus continues his quest.

After traversing Laconia, Sicyonia, Corinth, Elis and Achaia (I. xii, 50-56v.) he returns to Arcadia, for he remembers that Philoclea's picture recalled to Pyrocles his old love (Zelmane). And there he finds him disguised as an Amazon. His remonstrance against such an ignoble course, and more generally



against women and love, almost brings on a quarrel; but soon the cousins resume their friendship, and Pyrocles (I. xiii, 57-xiv, 64v.) gives an account of his love affair up to the time of the actual narration: *B.* He begs Musidorus to remain concealed in an arbor private to Pyrocles, in order that Pyrocles may receive his counsel and help, and show him Philoclea. As Pamela is with Philoclea, Musidorus sees her too, and falls in love with her. [Thus he too enters the Main Plot, at *C.*]

### EPISODES

#### 1. Argalus and Parthenia

(*a*) (I. v, 19-24) Argalus, a knight of Cyprus and cousin to Queen Gynecia, accompanies her to the Arcadian court, where he becomes the friend of Clitophon and is by him presented to Parthenia, Clitophon's cousin. Argalus and Parthenia fall in love, but Parthenia's mother favors a wealthy suitor, Demagoras, and does all she can to thwart Argalus. After her death, Demagoras, realizing that his suit must fail, rubs poison on Parthenia's face, and spoils her beauty. Though Argalus remains faithful, she will not consent to his sacrificing himself, and, declining to marry him, secretly escapes. Banished for his crime, Demagoras becomes leader of the rebellious Helots. In their chief city Argalus seeks him out, slays him, and is captured. Clitophon leads an expedition to rescue his friend, but is taken himself. The two are kept safe from the vengeance of the Helots by the influence of the latter's new leader (Daiphantus = Pyrocles).

(*b*) (I. vii, 31-33) Argalus is released as a result of Kalander's expedition, and is taken to Kalander's house. There appears a lady closely resembling

Parthenia. She declares that she is a kinswoman of Queen Helen of Corinth, and that she bears Parthenia's dying wish that Argalus and she shall wed. Upon his refusal, she reveals herself as Parthenia indeed, cured by a skillful physician of Queen Helen. Argalus and Parthenia are married (I. viii, 35) at Kalander's house, amid the rejoicing of the noble guests.

(c) (III. xii, 290-295) Amphialus, having taken the princesses captive and being besieged by Basilius, defeats many of Basilius's knights. At length Basilius sends for Argalus, who at once leaves his nuptial bliss at the call of honor. After a terrible combat he receives a mortal wound. Parthenia comes too late to do aught but receive his last words. He is buried with military pomp; she, inconsolable, vows to follow him.

(d) (III. xvi, 308v.-311v.) Disguised as "The Knight of the Tomb" she challenges Amphialus, who after a short and one-sided combat wounds her mortally. She dies calling the name of Argalus, and is buried in his tomb with great pomp and lamentation.

(Their epitaph, not given in the ed. of 1590, is given at p. 288 of the ed. of 1627.)

## 2. Amphialus and Queen Helen

(a) (I. xi, 45-48) Amphialus, son of Basilius's younger brother (unnamed), and of the unworthy Cecropia, Princess of Argos, was reared by Timotheus, a great Corinthian lord, with whose son Philoxenus he formed a close friendship. When Philoxenus courted Queen Helen of Corinth, he introduced his friend to her to further his suit. Though Amphialus was faithful to his trust, the Queen fell in love with *him*, and told him so. Indignant, he

left her court. Philoxenus coming to woo in person heard from her of her preference for Amphialus. He overtook him, and forcing a fight upon him was slain. Timotheus, who presently arrived, fell dead upon his son's body. Overcome with grief, Amphialus threw away his armor, retired to the forest, and declared undying hatred against Queen Helen, cause of all this woe. She now seeks him that she may die at his hands.

(b) (II. xi, 153v.-155) In his solitary wanderings he chances upon the spot where Pamela and Philoclea are bathing in the river Ladon; he falls in love with Philoclea; his spaniel betrays his presence; Pyrocles wounds him; and Amphialus retires to nurse his wounds.

(c) (III. xxiv, 342v.-xxv, 346) In consequence of Cecropia's wicked attempt to force Philoclea to marry Amphialus, Amphialus has been sorely wounded by Musidorus, and, now attempting suicide, re-opens these wounds and stabs himself besides. Queen Helen takes his almost lifeless body to be cured by a surgeon of hers at home.

[Episode left unfinished.]

### 3. Phalantus and Artesia

(a) (I. xv, 66-xvii, 76) Phalantus, a bastard brother of Queen Helen, is as shallow-hearted as he is brave and courteous. Returned from the war against the Helots, he fancies himself in love with Artesia. She is really angling for Amphialus, but she, too, is shallow, is not deeply in love with anyone, and is content to accept the lip-worship of Phalantus for the credit it brings her. Desiring that her fame may reach Amphialus, she entraps Phalantus into a promise to maintain by challenge the supremacy of her beauty. He has never been over-



thrown, but has defeated many adversaries and taken from them as prizes the portraits of their ladies, which, to the number of eleven, he bears in triumphal procession at the Arcadian court. After he has there unseated several knights, among them Phebilus, who champions the beauty of Philoclea, he is himself at last overthrown by Pyrocles, who disguised as an ill-appareled knight, champions that same beauty. Artesia thereupon leaves Phalantus in scorn, but he is glad of his riddance.

(*b*) Later, Artesia acts as Cecropia's tool to entrap the Princesses of Arcadia (III. ii, 248, 252); plots treachery against Cecropia (III. xiv, 301-304); and is executed at her command (III. xxi, 332; xxiii, 339). See 8.

#### 4. The Galatica (Paphlagonica)

(*a*) (II. x, 142-146v.) Infatuated by the wiles of his bastard son Plexirtus, the (unnamed) King of Galatia (Paphlagonia) ordered his servants to kill Leonatus, the true-born heir to the throne; but they spared him and allowed him to escape to a foreign country. There he was just gaining advancement when he heard that Plexirtus had deposed and blinded his father. Leonatus returned to succor the old man, who begged to be led to the top of a high rock, that he might throw himself from it and die.

His plaint being overheard by the Princes Pyrocles and Musidorus, engaged their interest. They defended him and Leonatus against an armed troop headed by Plexirtus himself, who came to take his brother's life. With the aid of the new King of Pontus they forced Plexirtus to retreat to a fortress, where they besieged him. The old King crowned Leonatus and died. Plexirtus surrendered, but dealt with Leonatus so cunningly that he was pardoned.

(b) (II. xxii, 201v.-203) Now he plotted to poison Leonatus, who in his mistaken piety refusing to kill his father's son, assigned to him instead (that Plexirtus's ambition might find a field elsewhere) his own right to the conquest of Trebizonde. This city Plexirtus's faithful allies, the brothers Tydeus and Telenor, soon acquired for him. But, once seated on the throne, he began to fear them, and plotted to put them out of the way. He told each of them separately and secretly that he had been challenged by the King of Pontus to single combat,—a tale which was plausible by reason of the old grudge between the kings. (See II. x, 145 *supra*.) When the appointed day drew near, he feigned himself ill and again secretly and separately requested each brother to go in his place, making each swear to keep the secret even from his brother. And "he told *Tydeus*, the king would meet him in a blew armour; & *Telenor*, that it was a black armour; & with wicked subtiltie (as if it had bene so appointed) caused *Tydeus* to take a black armour, & *Telenor* a blew; appointing them waies how to go, so as he knew they should not meet, til they came to the place appointed, where each had promised to keep silence . . .; and there in await he had laied . . . murtherers, that who ouerliued the other, should by them be dispatched."

Pyrocles and Musidorus came up towards the end of this combat and parted the brothers, but too late to prevent their death. From the chief of the murderers, who had attacked the Princes when they first appeared, the Princes learned this story.

A messenger sought Tydeus and Telenor (II. xxiii, 204v.-207v.) to tell them of the danger of Plexirtus, who unless rescued at once would suffer death. The messenger told his tale to the Princes;

and Pyrocles, having pledged himself to the dying Zelmane to succor her unworthy father, unwillingly undertook the task. An ancient knight, he learned, whose kinsman Plexirtus had murdered, had now for revenge entrapped Plexirtus in his castle by means of a forged letter purporting to be from Artaxia, in which she promised marriage to Plexirtus and begged him to come to her in secret. Plexirtus on his way with a small escort had been captured by the old knight, who threatened to deliver him to a monster, but yet proclaimed that if any so loved Plexirtus as to attempt to slay that monster, Plexirtus should be saved if they succeeded. Pyrocles slew the monster and set Plexirtus free to practise new villainies.

For instance (II. xxiv, 209v.), in order to gain Artaxia's hand, and add Armenia to his kingdom, Plexirtus hired the captain and the crew of the vessel on which the Princes were returning home, to murder them both. Thus he hoped to gain the price that Artaxia had set upon the Princes' heads. His expectations were fulfilled: he married Artaxia (II. xxix, 232v.-233) and was crowned King of Armenia.

[Episode left unfinished; Plexirtus left unpunished.]

#### 5. Erona, Antiphilus, and Plangus

(a) (II. xiii, 159v.-162v.) Erona, Princess of Lycia, contemning Love, caused Cupid's images to be defaced. He punished her by causing her to fall in love with Antiphilus, her nurse's son. Endeavoring to dissuade her from this love, in favor of her suitor Tiridates, King of Armenia, her father pretended that Antiphilus had fled the country, pretended to have executed him, etc. Thereupon she made attempts at suicide, which broke her



father's heart, so that he died, leaving her queen. She was about to marry Antiphilus, when Tiridates besieged her. He was accompanied by his sister Artaxia, and aided by Plangus, Evardes, and Barzanes. To the aid of Erona came Pyrocles and Musidorus. Tiridates offered to match his three champions against the two princes and Antiphilus. In the ensuing combat, Musidorus slew Barzanes and Pyrocles slew Evardes, but Antiphilus was taken alive by Plangus. Tiridates gave Erona three days in which to yield to him: otherwise Antiphilus should be beheaded. Meanwhile, if she did herself any hurt, Antiphilus should be tortured. Thus hemmed in, she knew not what to do. At length, upon a message from Antiphilus beseeching her to save his life, she sent a message of compliance; but immediately repented, and sought counsel of the Princes. In ignorance of her previous message they issued from the city, found Tiridates negligently guarded, slew him, and brought off Antiphilus, who was soon married to Erona. Artaxia, aided by Plangus to escape, and now Queen of Armenia, "proclaimed great rewards to any private man and her selfe in marriage to any Prince, that would destroy Pyrocles and Musidorus"; for she considered that her brother had been by them treacherously slain.

(*b*) (II. xxix, 227v.-233v.) Soon after Erona's marriage to Antiphilus, his natural baseness, together with the flattery of his courtiers, puffed him up with pride. He began to despise his wife, and feigning that she was barren, purposed a second marriage. He even, in his insolence, made polygamy legitimate, and asked for the hand of Artaxia, who hated both him and Erona. Infatuated by her love, Erona assented to all these negotiations, willing even to be second to Artaxia if she might only keep An-

tiphilus; and she wrote to Artaxia to speed his wooing. Artaxia hid her hatred in order to get them into her power; and appointed an interview.

There she took Antiphilus and Erona prisoners, meaning to sacrifice them upon her brother's tomb. Antiphilus weakly begged for mercy; Erona pleaded only for Antiphilus. Her noble bearing, her beauty, and her affliction now won the love of Plangus, who still in his exile sojourned at Artaxia's court. He declared his love, and Erona desired him to show it by saving Antiphilus. So he tried to persuade Artaxia to spare her prisoner, but in vain. Equally vain was his attempt to gather a rescuing army in Lycia: there the throne had already been usurped by the next heir, who had set the Lycians against their queen because of her unworthy match, and who now urged Artaxia to execute her. Finally he arranged with Antiphilus to make possible his escape, but Antiphilus wanted the spirit to carry out the plan: he had a notion that if he disclosed it, he should be pardoned! He did disclose it, and begged for his life again. When Plangus came at the appointed time to deliver Antiphilus, Artaxia's troops were there ready to take Plangus, but his friends among the army kept him safe. As for Antiphilus, the women of that city begged him from Artaxia; and, mortally hating him for having instituted polygamy, forced him to throw himself down from the pyramid on Tiridates's tomb and so to end his false-hearted life. Plangus gathered his friends, and in an encounter defeated the troops of Artaxia, taking as hostage a son of Tiridates. By threatening to make this nephew of Artaxia suffer the same fate as Erona, Plangus contrived to postpone Erona's execution. And now it was agreed that Erona was to be placed in the strong castle of a great nobleman for safe-keeping. If within two

years after Tiridates's death Pyrocles and Musidorus should overcome two champions chosen by Artaxia, Erona should be set at liberty; if not, she should be burned. To this, both sides took solemn oath; Plangus being willing because he knew the courtesy and prowess of those princes, who would surely consent to fight for Erona, but Artaxia being willing because Plexirtus had just informed her that he had caused both the princes to perish at sea.

Plangus taking leave of the afflicted Erona, who wished only for death to join her to Antiphilus, went to Greece to notify the princes. On the way he intercepted letters from Artaxia to Plexirtus, accepting Plexirtus as her husband and alluding to the Princes' death in such a way that Plangus inquired further in Laconia, and found that their ship had indeed been lost. He concluded that they must have perished; else their presence would surely be known in Greece. Now came word from Erona's warden, that Artaxia had broken faith and was besieging his castle. He could not hold out long, and begged Plangus to come to his aid, for now that Plexirtus was King of Armenia too and their own party consumed in the war, he felt that he could not resist. Plangus as a last resort determined to ask aid of Evarchus of Macedon, who would certainly wish to avenge the death of his son Pyrocles. On his way, Plangus passed through Arcadia and told his story to Basilius and the princesses.

(c) (V. 446-448) Plangus moved towards Byzantium, where, he understood, Evarchus after his victorious siege still remained. In fact, Evarchus had undertaken a new enterprise. The Latins were threatening him on the West and he was engaged in making all ready against them. On a progress through Macedon to see that his orders were car-



ried out, he met Plangus who had turned to seek him at home. Plangus told him the sad news of the death of Pyrocles and Musidorus, and of Erona's plight. Evarchus swore never to return to Macedon till he had pursued to death the murderers of his nephew and his son, and at once dispatched a ship to Byzantium with orders to the governors to prepare for war in the East. On this ship Plangus sailed. But as news now came that the Latins had given up their purpose of war against Macedon, Evarchus himself with a fleet set sail for Byzantium. A storm scattered this fleet and cast his own ship upon the coast of Laconia. Learning there that after Daiphantus's departure the King of the Macedonians had broken treaty with the Helots, and that these, again at war, hated the very name of King, Evarchus sought the nearest place of safety and hospitality,—Arcadia, the realm of his old friend Basilius.

[Evarchus enters Main Plot. Episode left unfinished.]

#### 6. Plangus and Andromana

(a) (II. xv, 166v.—171v.) Plangus, the son of the widowed King of Iberia, had an intrigue with a citizen's wife (Andromana), with whom his father one day found him. But Plangus convinced his father that she was chaste,—indeed, convinced him so thoroughly that he fell in love with her himself and sent Plangus away to the wars. During Plangus's absence her husband died, and she so managed the old King that by the time Plangus returned, it was to find her his stepmother and the mother of a son and a daughter by her second marriage. She knew him conscious of her guilt, and moreover she now again solicited him, but in vain; so that she became his bitter enemy and began to plot his ruin.

To this end she took the help of "a servant neere about her husband," an ambitious courtier who played on the King's fears and pretended to be himself in fear of Plangus. After many machinations her tool informed Plangus—as was indeed the fact—that his stepmother was conspiring with the King against his life; and offered to take him to a secret place where he might overhear them. Plangus was led thither, armed. When his stepmother knew he was there, she cried and grovelled till the King came, whereupon she told him with feigned reluctance that Plangus had solicited her, and had offered to kill his father and marry her as soon as he should be King. At that, in ran the tool, and besought the King to save himself, for there was one armed in the next room. Plangus was taken prisoner, his father meaning to execute him the next day. But a little army of his friends rescued him, and if he had so chosen, would have given him the crown. Plangus, however, chose voluntary exile at the court of his cousin Tiridates, King of Armenia.

As an ally of Tiridates, Plangus besieged Erona, after eleven or twelve years of exile. During all this time his father's hatred remained unabated. He sent the tool to poison Plangus; and the villain being apprehended confessed all before his execution. But even this confession sent in writing to the King failed of its effect, for he had so completely resigned his government to his wife that she intercepted the document. And now Plangus's long absence made it possible for her to have Palladius, her son by her second marriage, proclaimed heir to the kingdom.

(b) (II. xx, 190-xxi, 198v.) But Andromana and Palladius were not destined to prosper. The end of Pyrocles's adventure with Pamphilus and Dido

brought the two princes Pyrocles and Musidorus to the Iberian court. Here Andromana fell in love with them, and being repulsed, imprisoned them. Still she allowed them to take part in the tournament upon the anniversary of her marriage; for Zelmane, who loved Pyrocles and was loved by Palladius, persuaded her lover to gain this favor for her beloved. The Princes took the opportunity to escape with Palladius. They routed the pursuing party sent by Andromana, but in the *melée* Palladius was slain. Andromana killed herself upon his corpse.

### 7. Pamphilus and Dido

(a) (II. xviii, 181v.-185) Pamphilus was an accomplished courtier and a conqueror of ladies, whom he would deceive and then disdain. When at length he bethrothed himself to one (Leucippe), his former mistresses conspired to punish him. Inveigling him to a lonely spot, they set upon him and bound him with garters, and pricked him sore with bodkins, Dido showing the greatest spite and trying to put out his eyes. Pyrocles, just then passing on his way to fight Anaxius, heard Pamphilus's cries and put to flight all his assailants save Dido. From her he heard this story. When she would have returned to mangle Pamphilus, Pyrocles restrained her; but when certain friends of Pamphilus coming up would have killed her at Pamphilus's request, Pyrocles protected her; so that in the end peace was promised faithfully on both sides, and Pyrocles rode on.

(b) (II. xix, 186-190v.) Dido on her way home with an insufficient guard was again attacked by Pamphilus and his friends, and captured. Bound before him on his horse and beaten by him with rods, she was borne towards her father Chremes's castle, where Pamphilus meant to kill her in her



father's sight. On their way they passed where Pyrocles and Anaxius were fighting; and, in order to rescue Dido, Pyrocles left the combat despite the jeers of his enemy. He overtook the crew, from whom he quickly liberated her; but Pamphilus escaped. Dido took Pyrocles to pass the night as the guest of her father, a rich miser. His unwillingness to maintain his daughter had driven her to the protection of Cecropia, which, however, had exposed her to the arts of Pamphilus. Unwillingly admitted and grudgingly received by Chremes, Pyrocles upon Dido's inquiry told his name and estate; whereupon his wretched host, who knew that Artaxia had set a price upon the head of Pyrocles, sent word to the commander of an Iberian garrison near by that Pyrocles would next morning be betrayed into the commander's hands at a certain place of ambush agreed upon. Next day Chremes accompanied his guest to make sure of the success of the treachery, and Dido to prolong her farewell. Pyrocles was attacked and would have been taken but for Musidorus, who in his extremity came to the rescue. He had been directed thither by Chremes's neighbors, whose hatred had led them to burn his house during his absence, and who knew that Chremes's escort could bode no good to Pyrocles. The combat was ended by the arrival of the King of Iberia, by whose orders the Captain was beheaded and Chremes hanged. Dido, in attempting to save Pyrocles by placing herself between him and his enemies, had been slain.

(c) (II. xxii, 199-200) Worse than death was the fate reserved for Pamphilus. From the lament of Leucippe, to whom Pamphilus had been betrothed, Pyrocles later learned that the inconstant one had deserted her too, and had married Baccha, an im-

perious wanton. Pyrocles let him live, considering that to kill him would rather be to spare him the punishment that life with such a woman would inflict. Leucippe retired to a house of "Vestall Nunnes."

8. Cecropia; or the Captivity

(III. ii. 248-250v.) Six pretty country girls invite the royal party to attend rural sports at a place in the woods about half a mile from the lodges. Pamela, Philoclea, and Pyrocles (as Zelmane) go to the appointed place, take refreshment, and wait for the "devises"; instead of which, armed men rush from the woods and take them prisoners before Zelmane can draw. Their captors place them on horseback and carry them to a castle upon a high rock in the midst of a lake,—the castle of Cecropia, who receives them with mock courtesy at the gate. They are placed in separate lodgings.

Cecropia, going to her son Amphialus, who is still in bed tending the wound that Pyrocles gave him (II. xi, 154), tells him who are her captives. As he knows nothing of her wicked devices, he begs her to tell him the whole story. She complies (250v.-252v.):

Basilius lived unmarried till he was nearly three score, and led everybody to believe that he never would marry. So his younger brother (unnamed) was regarded as heir to the throne of Arcadia, and as such obtained the hand of Cecropia, daughter of the King of Argos. As Princess-Apparent she received great homage; and in this felicity her son Amphialus was born. Just when the couple had laid a plot to shorten the life of Basilius, her husband died. She still had much honor as mother of the new heir. But soon Basilius married Gynecia, then a young girl, and brought her to queen it over

Cecropia; nor was this all, for now the birth of Basilius's daughters cut off all hope of the throne for Amphialus, and stripped Cecropia of her honors. She tried several ways to destroy the house of Arcadia: it was she that let loose the lion and the bear that attacked the Princesses; it was she that procured Clinias to stir up the recent insurrection; and the leader of the supposed country girls who had just enticed the Princesses into her hands was her protégée Artesia, disguised. Had it not been that Amphialus loved Philoclea, Cecropia would, she says, already have had the Princesses killed. As it is, he may easily have his will, for his mistress is his captive.

(III. iii, 253-255v.) The gallant Amphialus deprecates his mother's course, requires that Zelmane, though his enemy, be honorably treated, and goes to plead his cause with Philoclea. Though he admits that by not redressing her injury he makes himself an accessory to it, yet he deprecates her anger, and blames all on the tyrant Love. She refuses to yield; he vows that no violence shall be used; she threatens to kill herself if her honor be jeopardized.

(III. iv, 256-259v.) Amphialus departs to prepare for the siege he knows he must stand. Throughout all his activity Love harasses him, with many contradictions and antitheses, till at length he asks his mother to intercede for him.

(III. v, 260-262v.) Cecropia finds Philoclea weeping, and rallies her upon spoiling her beauty. With much sophistry she leads up to her plea for Amphialus; and when Philoclea answers that she has vowed virginity, proceeds to set forth the joys of matrimony. Philoclea replies that she cannot consider any proposal as long as she is a prisoner. So (III. vi, 263-265v.) the conference ends. Now Ce-



cropia bethinks her that Pamela may be more tractable, and that if so, Amphialus may be content with her instead. Going to Pamela's door Cecropia listens and overhears Pamela praying for a mind steadfast, pure, and to the will of God submiss. Abashed by her captive's virtue, Cecropia yet attempts her, too, with eloquence and gifts, but in vain.

(III. vii, 266v.-III. ix, 277) Now follow alarums and excursions; of which the chief incidents are an indecisive combat between Amphialus and a Black Knight (= Musidorus) and the capture of Philanax, who is afterward released by Amphialus at the prayer of Philoclea.

Cecropia continues to woo both the Princesses separately, "determining that whome she coulde winne first, the other shoulde (without her sonnes knowledge) by poyson be made away." Today, having vainly tried to persuade Philoclea by praising Amphialus for his mercy (III. x, 278-284) to Philanax, Cecropia goes to Pamela, who refutes all Cecropia's atheistic arguments.

Meanwhile Basilius slowly prosecutes the siege (III. xi, 284v.-289v.), and the sallies of Amphialus are vain. Phalantus now challenges any gentleman on Amphialus's side to single combat; Amphialus accepts the challenge, fights him incognito, vanquishes but spares him, and exchanges with him pledges of friendship.

(III. xii, 289v.-296) Cecropia lays before Philoclea this victory as a homage from Amphialus, who now proclaims a general challenge. When he has defeated and killed many of the King's bravest champions, the King sends for Argalus. Him the messenger finds with Parthenia—a pair of wedded lovers; but Argalus putting aside his wife's remonstances goes at the call of duty. In a terrible com-

bat Amphialus at last gives Argalus a mortal wound. Parthenia receives her husband's dying breath. He is buried with military pomp; she is inconsolable.

(III. xiii, 296v.-301) Clinias's reputation for cowardice has reached the ears of Dametas, who thinks to gain honor cheaply by challenging him. Egged on by several young gentlemen, he sends his challenge, which Amphialus compels Clinias to accept. The two cowards meet in the island, where retreat is impossible, and fight a comical combat, in which by accident Dametas gains the victory.

(III. xiv, 301-304) The consequent disgrace to Clinias sets him plotting vengeance against Amphialus. To this end he finds an ally in Artesia, who, having been induced to entrap the Princesses by the prospect that they should be killed and that she should then marry Amphialus, now sees herself scorned for the sake of one of those very Princesses whom she herself has brought thither. Artesia, ready for anything, confides in Zelmane, who wishes no more than to be provided with a sword; but Clinias is for opening a gate to the enemy and for having Amphialus poisoned. Clinias and Artesia agree upon the latter plan, and decide to disclose it to the Princesses in order to be saved by them from the fury of the entering soldiers, and to secure to themselves future reward. Clinias therefore tells Philoclea, who begs him to give up the plan, but promises not to betray him. Artesia tells Pamela, who loudly denounces both the plan and the traitress. Cecropia overhearing the conversation inquires what it is all about, and is referred to Artesia, who under threat of torture confesses all. Clinias is executed, Artesia locked up in her chamber.

(III. xv, 304v.-III. xvi, 311v.) The proud Anax-

ius, after several fights with Amphialus, has on one occasion saved his life and has consequently become his friend. Searching for Pyrocles to finish their combat (see *b*; II. xix, 186), Anaxius has heard of the siege and now comes to aid Amphialus. With his two strong brothers, Lycurgus and Zoilus, he breaks through Basilius's camp from the rear, but is being repulsed by Philanax, when Amphialus also sallies forth, takes one of Basilius's outposts, and receives Anaxius and his brothers.

The "Knight of the Tomb," challenges Amphialus but will not reveal his identity. In the fight, Amphialus wounds him mortally, and pulling off his helmet reveals Parthenia. With the words "I come, I come, my Argalus," she dies. Amid the lamentations of all she is buried in the same tomb with Argalus.

(III. xvii, 312-314) Amphialus retires in deep melancholy, breaks his sword, and recalls his fate in killing against his will both Philoxenus and Parthenia, and in keeping Philoclea captive without any chance of success. Cecropia rallies him upon his soft-heartedness, and counsels violence.

(III. xviii, 314v.-III. xix, 325v.) A challenge from the "Forsaken Knight" is delivered and accepted. Amphialus meets upon the island his adversary, who is no other than the Black Knight (= Musidorus). There ensues a tremendous battle, in which each wounds the other so sorely that Amphialus falls in a swoon, and Musidorus is driven by his faintness to give over fighting. He is taken away unconscious and kept secretly in a castle near by to recover of his wounds. Cecropia finding herself in full control as long as her son is disabled, resolves to force the Princesses' consent. First, to rid herself of constraint from without, she announces to Basilius that



if he does not raise the siege she will cause the three prisoners to be beheaded before his eyes; and she places a scaffold on the walls, where she exhibits the captives ready for execution. The King decides to raise the siege. Leaving Philanax in general charge, Basilius retires to a castle with the Queen.

(III. xx, 325v.-III. xxi, 332) After again trying flattery and suasion upon the Princesses, Cecropia resorts first to threats, then to indignities, then to hardships, and at length to scourgings and other bodily tortures. All is vain: Philoclea begs only for death; Pamela will not even do so much. Cecropia resolves to break the resolution of the one by threatening the death of the other if she will not yield. Philoclea, unmoved by this threat, only asks that she herself be chosen for execution. Cecropia refuses, and bids her prepare to see Pamela beheaded. Zelmane and Philoclea looking inward upon the hall of the castle from the windows of their chambers, behold the execution of a lady dressed in Pamela's clothes, but with most of her face covered (really Artesia: III. xxiii, 339).

(III. xxii, 332v.-336v.) Learning of the attachment between Zelmane and Philoclea, Cecropia threatens Zelmane that unless she persuades Philoclea to yield, Philoclea shall also be beheaded. After a night of conflicting emotions and councils, Zelmane resolves that Philoclea's life must be saved at all costs; and advises her to feign submission; in consideration whereof he may be set at liberty and perchance get a sword. Submission may also gain delay which will give him the opportunity to gather a rescuing force. But she firmly declines all dissimulation.

Roused by an unusual noise in the night, Zelmane goes to the window overlooking the hall and sees

there upon the scaffold Philoclea's head in a bloody basin. In his frenzy he tries to brain himself against the wall, but slips and falls into a swoon; whence recovering he resolves to live for vengeance, and laments most grievously.

(III. xxiii, 337—III. xxiv, 343v.) About dawn as he lies tossing on his bed he hears a rustling in his room, and a voice answers his challenge. It is Philoclea's, who explains that neither she nor Pamela is dead: Artesia it was who was executed in Pamela's dress; and Philoclea's living head was thrust through a hole in the bottom of a basin. Now, owing perhaps to Amphialus's discovering, despite his mother's secrecy, something of her treatment of the Princesses, Philoclea and Pamela have been allowed together and Philoclea has been allowed to come to Zelmane. The lovers mingle their joy and their tears. Philoclea returns to Pamela's chamber, where soon Amphialus appears. Kept in the dark by his mother, he has nevertheless had misgivings about her treatment of the captives. Now Pamela's words leave him in no doubt. By threatening torture, he gets the dreadful details from one of his mother's women. In despair he seizes a sword, meaning to kill himself in the sight of his mother, who is on the leads of the castle meditating how she may secretly poison the Princesses. When she sees him coming she thinks his drawn sword meant for her, and retreating hastily, falls to the ground. Even as she dies, she directs that the Princesses be killed, but none obeys. Amphialus recalls his evil destiny in causing the deaths of Philoxenus, Timotheus, Parthenia, Ismenus, and his own mother, and in procuring the torture of his beloved. He falls upon his sword, which slipping kills him not. His old wounds reopen, and with Philoclea's knives he stabs himself. He is taken up almost dead.

(III. xxv, 344-248v.) Anaxius takes command of the castle, forces the inmates to swear allegiance to him, and vows he will kill the Princesses as causers of his friend's death. Queen Helen of Corinth arrives and with Anaxius's permission takes away the almost lifeless body of Amphialus to be cured by a surgeon of her own.

(III. xxvi, 349v.-352v.) Anaxius announces to the Princesses that upon his return from escorting Queen Helen he will cut off their heads. They face him with fortitude. At the sight of Pamela's beauty he pauses, and receives from Zelmane a challenge to mortal combat. At this, as coming from a woman, he smiles; whereupon Zelmane declares herself the equal of Pyrocles who slew Anaxius's uncle Evardes, nay, the closest possible kinsman to that same Pyrocles, and invites Anaxius to avenge upon her the wrongs he considers Pyrocles to have done him: otherwise Zelmane brands him as a dastard. Though Anaxius declines the challenge he yet of his own accord spares the lives of the Princesses, and makes odious love to Pamela. Summarily rejected, he goes away for the time, leaving Lycurgus to court Philoclea and Zoilus to court Zelmane.

(III. xxvii, 353-355v.) When the brothers are gone, Zelmane persuades the Princesses to gain time by promising to yield if Basilius shall consent. Accordingly, Anaxius sends a flattering messenger to the King, who, irresolute, again refers the question to Apollo's oracle. This time the answer comes plain: He is to deny his daughters to their present suitors, for they are reserved for such as are better beloved of the Gods; he is to have no fear, for they will return to him safely and speedily; he is to continue his retired life until both he and Philanax agree as to the meaning of the former prophecy.



Anaxius's messenger takes back a resolute negative, which he dresses up flatteringly to tell his master. Anaxius, however, resolves to use violence; but, word being brought of the approach of an armed force, he orders the soldiers to the walls, and with his brothers remains within to carry out his intent.

(III. xxviii, 356-III. xxix, 360v.) Zoilus announces to the Princesses a version of Basilius's answer distorted so as to appear favorable, and proceeds towards Zelmane, who begs that he allow her to perform a vow of hers never to marry but such an one as can withstand her in arms. Turning this to a jest, he tries to embrace her; she trips him up, takes his sword from him, pursues him to the presence of his brothers, and there kills him. Anaxius disdainfully leaving to Lycurgus the task of revenge, goes down and locks that part of the castle off from the rest. Zelmane snatches a shield from the wall and quickly induces Lycurgus to beg mercy. She would grant it did she not see on his arm a garter which she has given Philoclea, and which Lycurgus has forced from her. At that she runs him through, just as Anaxius returns. Anaxius and Zelmane fight till both are out of breath, and having rested, resume the fight.

[End of quarto of 1590 The later eds. continue the story, after a gap. See *F.*]

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Reduced to lowest terms, the "Arcadia" amounts to this: Having received a paradoxical oracle, a king endeavors to prevent its accomplishment; nevertheless the oracle is accomplished, and under circumstances issuing in the following catastrophe: at a public spectacular trial, a father not knowing his own son condemns

him to death; the son's identity is declared by a *deus ex machina* who arrives just in time; women's chastity is vindicated; and the conclusion is a double marriage of princely lovers, the vicissitudes of whose Fortune have been so ordered by Providence as to unite them at last. It is evident that we have here the grandiose Heliodorean framework.<sup>1a</sup> The attribution to Greek Romance is confirmed by detailed examination of several *motifs* and incidents of this plot, as well as several of its episodes.

Not especially attributable to any one of the Greek Romances is Sidney's employment of the stock incidents of shipwreck (I. i; II. vii) and of what Herr Brunhuber (p. 22) calls "Das Eros Motiv":—A youth or maid who formerly scoffed at Love becomes the slave of Love. So it was with Clitophon before he met Leucippe, so with Rhodopis and Euthynicus before they met (A. T., I. vii; VIII. xii), so with Theagenes and with Chariclea (*Æth.*, II. xxxiii). So it is with Musidorus, who, before he has seen Pamela, sharply reproves the love of Pyrocles for Philoclea (*Arc.*, I. xii, 51v.) and later falls a victim himself, affording Sidney opportunity for a richly humorous scene (*Arc.*, I. xviii, 77v.; see *post* p. 330). So it is too, and seriously, with Erona, whose sad story (*Arc.*, II. xiii, 159v.) begins with her ill-starred love for Antiphilus,—a punishment

<sup>1a</sup> If external evidence that Sidney knew the "*Æthiopica*" were needed, it would be supplied by the allusions in his "Apologie for Poetrie" (ed. Collins): ". . . so true a louer as *Theagenes*" (p. 8); "*Heliodorus* in his sugred inuention of that picture of loue in *Theagenes* and *Chariclea*" (p. 12).

inflicted upon her by Cupid for her sacrilege in seeking to abolish his cult.<sup>2</sup>

More definite is the *provenance* of the following incidents. Musidorus (Arc., III. 347) tells how "Pamela, upon his vehement oath to offer no force unto her, till hee had invested her in the Dutchie of *Thessalia*, had condescended to his stealing her away to the next sea port." Lovers elope in both Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius; but only in Heliodorus does their vow of chastity precede the elopement; and only in Heliodorus does it look to their formal entry into a kingdom. In the "Arcadia" as in the "Æthiopica" this abduction is structural: it is essential to the main plot, and leads through the capture of the lovers, straight to the dénouement, where it figures as one of the charges brought against Theagenes and against Musidorus alike.

Again, in each dénouement, as has been briefly noted (*ante*, p. 307), a father condemns to death his own child, restored to him after many wanderings; in each, the father is unaware of the identity of the child, who maintains a preternatural silence on this point; in each, the recognition is brought about by the arrival, in the nick of time, of a person (Charicles, Calodoulos) who has travelled from a distance to the place of trial. If Calodoulos were a priest, the parallel would be complete.

Several minor incidents and situations in the "Arcadia," less structural than the foregoing, are no less unmistakably borrowed from the

<sup>2</sup> Herr Brunhuber (p. 22) mentions the case of Erona.



"Æthiopica." Herr Brunhuber (p. 20) calls attention to one of them—an incident of the previous history of Pyrocles: his leadership of the insurgent Helots (Arc., I. vi, 28; I. viii, 34v.), parallel to Thyamis's leadership of the Herdsmen. The parallel is repeated in the case of Demagoras (Arc., I. v) perhaps somewhat more closely, for both Demagoras and Thyamis have been banished before they become captains of outlaws.

Another situation which Sidney has used twice is in Heliodorus's passage (Æth., V. iii) about the nocturnal fright of Cnemon: overhearing Chariclea's soliloquy in which she names herself Thisbe, Cnemon is panic-stricken, and beats a hasty retreat in the dark, groping and stumbling and bumping his head and stubbing his toes till he reaches his own chamber. So Pyrocles (Arc., III. 353) in the darkness of a cave overhears a woman soliloquizing and at last naming herself—Gynecia; he retreats in a panic, and stumbling in the dark makes so much noise that she discovers him. Again (Arc., III. 379), Basilius about to go to his rendezvous with Zelmane, waits eagerly till he thinks his wife asleep; then "he came darkeling into his chamber, forcing himselfe to tread as softly as hee could. But the more curious he was, the more he thought everything creaked under him, and . . . his eyes not seruing his turne in that darke place, each Coffer or Cupbord hee met, one saluted his shinnes, another his elbowes."

In order to make clear the borrowings next to be mentioned, a preliminary observation is neces-

sary. For the travels of the two lovers in Greek Romance, Sidney substitutes the travels of the two princely friends and kinsmen who are his heroes. The substitution probably is due to mediaeval influence, particularly that of the "Legend of Two Friends" (see *ante* p. 250; *post*, p. 364 n. 37) and of the romances of chivalry;<sup>3</sup> and offers Sidney a chance to lead his heroes on a tour of knight-errantry through Asia. But at the same time this is his "Reiseroman"; and it is diversified with the usual incidents of these wanderings. Like the Greek lovers, the friends are shipwrecked (Arc., I. i; II. vii); just as pirates capture the lady in Greek Romance, and separate her from her lover, so do pirates capture one of the friends and keep him for awhile from his fellow (Arc., I. i); and as the lovers are imprisoned together, so are the friends (Æth., VIII. x; Arc., IV. 433; II. xx, 192v.).

Narrative material from Heliodorus is used by Sidney for three of his episodes. In the "Æthiopica" (VII. xviii, xxi, xxv) Theagenes and Chariclea are the prisoners of Arsace, who desires him. He is tortured, and threatened with death if he will not yield. Chariclea advises him to feign compliance in order to gain time. He refuses to dissemble. In Sidney's episode of the Captivity (Arc., III. xxii, 333-334v.) Pyro-

<sup>3</sup> For Sidney's borrowings from "Amadis of Gaul"—the chief portions of the episodes of Phalantus and Artesia and of Pamphilus and Dido; the fight of Musidorus and Ismenus about the armor of Amphialus; the disguise of Pyrocles, and his double *qui-pro-quo* with Basilius and Gynecia—see Moody, pp. 34-47; Brunhuber, pp. 14-19, and *post*, pp. 318-319.

cles and Philoclea are the prisoners of Amphialus, who desires her. She is tortured, and threatened with death if she will not yield. Pyrocles advises her to feign compliance in order to gain time. She refuses to dissemble.

In the other two cases Heliodorus furnishes the main body of Sidney's whole episode. The first is the episode of the "Paphlagonica" or "Galatica" (Arc., II. x, 143v.-146), founded upon Heliodorus's story of Calasiris, Petosiris, and Thyamis (Æth., I. xix; VII. ii, vi, viii, xi): One of two brothers (Petosiris; Plexirtus) by slander usurps the birthright of the other (Thyamis; Leonatus), causes his banishment, and attempts his life. Their father too (Calasiris; unnamed King of Paphlagonia) goes into exile. The injured brother returns to his native country, fights for and regains his birthright, and forgives the usurper. The father also returns, formally invests the true heir with his rights, and immediately dies. Sidney added greatly to the point and pathos of Heliodorus's tale by having the King himself turned against the good son and seeking his life; by having the King blinded by the wicked son; and by inventing the passage where the old man begs to be led to the top of a rock that he may end his life by leaping down. Sidney also ministered to the surviving mediaeval and chivalric ideas of his time by making the wicked son a bastard. He thus somewhat recast his original, or at least gave it a tone foreign to Heliodorus. Probably it was this new tone which attracted Shakespeare, who, in the underplot of



Gloucester and his sons, in "King Lear," retained, though with changes again, the features which Sidney added, and added besides much new matter of his own. The result is a complete transformation of the plot and personages of the Greek Romance. In Shakespeare's underplot, and in the characters of Gloucester, Edgar and Edmund, it is difficult to trace any part of the story as told in the "Æthiopica," or to recognize the old priest of Memphis and his two sons.

The third of Sidney's episodes shows still greater indebtedness to Heliodorus. It is the episode of Plangus and Andromana, derived from the stories of Heliodorus's two amorous women, Demaeneta and Arsace.<sup>4</sup> Andromana combines these in her own story and character. Like Demaeneta (Æth., I. x-xvii), she solicits her stepson (Cnemon; Plangus), and being rejected ruins him by means of low intrigue in which she employs a servant as her tool (Thisbe; unnamed). In each case the stepmother slanders the son to his father. In each case she arranges a rendezvous in the dark, where the son is made to appear as an intended parricide. In each case the son is exiled; and the intriguing servant later confesses and dies. Like Arsace, Andromana at another time is in love with two of the heroes of the story (Theagenes and Thyamis; Pyrocles and Musidorus)—the affairs being successive in the "Æthiopica," simultaneous in the "Arcadia." Rejected by both heroes, she vainly tries the effect of imprisonment and continued solicitation.

<sup>4</sup> Oeftering, p. 94, and Brunhuber, p. 20, recognize in it the story of Demaeneta only.

Finally, like both Arsace and Demaeneta, Andromana kills herself.—The derivation of Andromana and her story from a deliberate combination of Arsace and Demaeneta is corroborated by the history of the growth of this episode under Sidney's hand (*post*, p. 348 ff.).

It is from Achilles Tatius that Sidney takes his other amorous woman, Queen Gynecia. Her fully rounded character,<sup>5</sup> among the comparatively pale types surrounding her, would lead the reader to suspect her kinship with Melitta. The suspicion is confirmed by parallel incidents. Her passionate pleading for the love of Pyrocles (*Arc.*, III. 353-4, 365-7; cf. *A. T.*, V. xxv, xxvi) at length results in a promise of compliance—a promise of which Pyrocles, like Clitophon, puts off the fulfilment, and which, again like Clitophon, he means not to fulfil. In Clitophon's case this intention is melted by Melitta's flame, while Pyrocles remains steadfast; but Clitophon and Pyrocles each exchange garments with their respective innamoratas; and each is afterward arrested in these garments (*A. T.*, VI. i, iii, v; *Arc.*, III. 378, 408, 423).

Other incidents or situations borrowed from Achilles Tatius are the following: Pyrocles at a feast with Philoclea, like Clitophon at his first meal with Leucippe, can look only at her. His eyes, he confesses later (*Arc.*, I. xiv, 62v.; cf. *A. T.*, I. iv, v. ix; II. ix; V. xiii) "dranke much more eagerly of her beautie, then my mouth did

<sup>5</sup>"Unter den vielen Charakteren, die häufig jede psychologische Vertiefung vermissen lassen, ragt nur die starke Persönlichkeit Gynecias hervor."—Brunhuber, p. 9.

of any other licour. And . . . as I dranke the wine, and withall stole a looke on her, me seemed I tasted her deliciousnesse."

The heroic spectacle, and the spectacular heroics, of shipwrecked Pyrocles riding the waves upon a mast (Arc., I. 4v.-5), Sidney elaborated from the similar passage about Clinias (A. T., III. v). Musidorus and the Laconian shepherds sail out towards the wreck to recover Pyrocles; when "Vpon the mast they saw a yong man . . . his haire . . . stirred vp and down with the wind . . . himselfe full of admirable beautie, set foorth by the strangenes both of his seate and gesture: for, holding his head up full of vnmoued maiestie, he held a sworde aloft with his faire arme, which often he waued about his crowne as though he would threaten the world in that extremitie."

The rescuers (Arc., I. i, 5-5 v.) sail towards Pyrocles, "when one of the saylers descried a Galley which came with sayles and oares directlie in the chase of them; and streight perceaued it was a well knowne Pirate. . . . Which when the Maister vnderstood, he commanded forthwith to set on all the canuasse they could, and flie homeward, leaving in that sort poore Pyrocles so neere to be reskewed. But what did not *Musidorus* say? What did he not offer to perswade them to venture the fight?" In vain; the captain turns back.—This incident is closely parallel to that in A. T., V. vii: The governor of Pharos, with Clitophon, puts out to rescue Leucippe; but at the approach of a galley full of pirates he returns to shore despite the entreaties of Clitophon.



When the two Princes are returning from Asia, Plexirtus commissions the Captain of their ship to murder them. The Captain resists all attempts to dissuade him, and Sidney explains this bloody-mindedness by recalling the fact that he "had bene a pyrate from his youth, and often blouDED in it" (Arc., II. xxiv, 210). Similarly, the action of Chaereas in hiring pirates to kidnap Leucippe, is explained by his earlier association with the pirates of Pharos (A. T., IV. xviii; V. iii).

In Sidney's episode of the Princesses' captivity, the brutal Anaxius, forcing his caresses upon Pamela, takes her by the chin (Arc., III. xxvi, 352). "Putting him away with her faire hand, Proud beast (said she) yet thou plaieſt worſe thy Comedy, then thy Tragedy." Thersander, forcing his caresses upon Leucippe, also takes her by the chin, and also receives a sharp reproof (A. T., VI. xviii).

Achilles Tatius's trick of a pretended execution, which he employs twice (A. T., III. xv; V. vii), Sidney employs three times,—twice in this episode of the Captivity, again in the episode of Antiphilus and Erona.<sup>6</sup> To make Philoclea yield her hand to Amphialus, Cecropia threatens to behead Pamela; and actually has beheaded before Philoclea's eyes a woman dressed in Pamela's clothes. This is Artesia (Arc., III. xxi, 331). The original is evidently the pretended decapitation of Leucippe. To induce Pyrocles to persuade Philoclea to yield, Cecropia has him informed that unless he succeeds in this persuasion, Philoclea shall die. The attempt at persuasion proving vain,

\* This indebtedness is noticed by Brunhuber, p. 21.

Cecropia lets Pyrocles see a bloody basin containing Philoclea's head. In fact this is Philoclea's living head thrust through a hole in the bottom of the basin (Arc., III. xxii, 332v., 335). Erona being in love with the low-born Antiphilus, "Many wayes her father sought to withdraw her from it; . . . lastly, making a solemne execution to be done of another, under the name of *Antiphilus*, whom he kept in prison" (Arc., II. xiii, 159v.).

To return to the dénouement of the main plot, —Achilles Tatius contributes several important elements to Sidney's Heliodorean trial scene. At the trial in "Clitophon and Leucippe" (A. T., VII. vi–xiii; V. iii, ix) Clitophon, wishing to die, accuses himself of the murder of Leucippe and is condemned to death. She is all the while alive, and is part of the time present in court! In the same bizarre fashion, Gynecia, so overwhelmed with a sense of guilt that she wishes to die, accuses herself of the murder of Basilius and is condemned to death. He is all the while alive, and present in court—in a trance! And so, too, the Princes must plead to the charge of having murdered this living man: a situation foretold by the oracle (Arc., II. xxviii, 225v.). Moreover, the multiplicity of charges against Pyrocles—rape, murder, and adultery,—makes the opening of Thersander's invective against Clitophon (A. T., VIII. vii) a model which Sidney can follow closely in the opening of Philanax's invective against Pyrocles (Arc., V. 464): "That which all men, who take upon them to accuse another, are wont to desire . . . *to haue many proofes of*

*faults in them they seeke to haue condemned: that is to me in this present action, my greatest comber, and annoyance.* For the number is so great, and the qualities so monstrous, of the enormities this wretched yong man hath committed, that *neither I my selfe can tell where to begin* (my thoughts being confused with the horrible multitude of them) neither doe I think your vertuous eares will be able to endure the report."

The double rendezvous of Pyrocles with the king and the queen, and the double *qui-pro-quo* by which he leaves them together, were perhaps suggested by three separate passages of "Amadis of Gaul"<sup>7</sup>: (a) In Bk. XI, cap. 3, Agesilan of Colchos, who, like Sidney's Pyrocles, has been reared with his cousin, falls in love, like Pyrocles again, with the picture of Diana, daughter of Queen Sidonia. Upon his cousin's advice he assumes female disguise in order to enter Sidonia's service; and he now calls himself Daraide. (b) In Bk. XI, cap. 83, he has reached the land of Galdap. Here he is taken captive by King Galinidis, to whose Queen, Salderne, he yields his sword. He gives himself out as a maiden from Sarmatia, and both King and Queen proceed to fall in love with him. As Daraide refuses to yield to the Queen, she has him thrown into prison. (c) In Bk. IX, cap. 3, Arlande, Princess of Thrace, having fallen in love with Florisel de Niquea, who loves the shepherdess Silvia and re-

<sup>7</sup> As I have not read the later books of the "Amadis," I follow Herr Brunhuber, pp. 16-18. Mr. Moody, however, was, I believe, the first to point out Sidney's borrowings from the "Amadis."



jects Arlande's advances, visits him at night in the garments of Silvia, and is welcomed.

That Sidney combined (*a*) and (*b*) (rejecting, of course, the imprisonment) to make the situation in which Pyrocles finds himself with relation to Basilius and Gynecia, seems likely enough. But as a suggestion of the way out of that situation, a suggestion for his ruse, (*c*) does not seem so plausible as the story of Cnemon (*Æth.*, I. ix-xvii, esp. xv-xvii), which possesses at least this additional point of similarity to the ruse of Pyrocles: a wife expecting a gallant, is found by her husband. With this, Sidney needed only to compound a theme that stared him in the face from a hundred *fabliaux* and *novelle*: a husband expecting his mistress finds his wife. The combination produces the ruse of Pyrocles. But the whole question is exceedingly doubtful, for the very reason that the novella-literature of the Renaissance is so full of *qui-pro-quo's*.

Whatever its source, the inclusion of the whole story in the frame of Greek Romance rests on surer ground. The female disguise of Pyrocles, and the escapade of Basilius and Gynecia, even supposing them to have been suggested by the "Amadis," are both of them, together with the *bizarreries* of the trial-scene, which are taken from Achilles Tatius, predicted by the oracle:

"Thy elder care shall from thy careful face	}	1
By princely meane be stolne, and yet not lost.		
Thy younger shall with Natures blisse embrace	}	2
An uncouth loue, which nature hateth most.		

Both they themselues vnto such two shall wed	} 3
Who at thy beer, as at a barre, shall plead	
Why thee (a liuing man) they had made dead.	
In thy owne seate a forraine state shall sit.	} 4
And ere that all these blowes thy head do hit,	
Thou with thy wife adultry shall commit."	

(Arc., II. xxviii, 225v.)

(1), as has been seen, is the elopement of Pamela and Musidorus, as in the "*Æthiopica*"; (2), the love of Philoclea for a supposed maiden, may have been suggested by the "*Amadis*"; (3) is from Achilles Tatius; and (4) possibly suggested by Heliodorus's story of Cnemon, though this is doubtful. But the point is that Sidney has conceived his story in the frame of Greek Romance—the Romance of Heliodorus; and that, whencesoever he derives his material, he keeps it within that frame by including it in the oracle,—the announcement of the intentions of Providence regarding his personages.

The point is made clearer by a consideration of the motive forces of the main plot,—Providence, Fortune, and the like. Sidney's own opinion of oracles would appear to be embodied in the letter of Philanax to Basilius touching this one (Arc., I. iv, 14v.): "Wisdom and vertue be the only destinies appointed to mē to follow, whēce we ought to seeke al our Knowledge. . . . These kind of soothsayers [i. e., oracles] . . . be nothing but fansie, wherein there must either be vanitie, or infalliblenes, & so, either not to be respected, or not to be preuented." That is, the prediction is either false, and therefore to be disregarded, or

true, and therefore inevitable: in either case, oracles are to be eschewed. In fact, the fulfilment of the oracle is, as it were, a punishment inflicted upon Basilius for consulting an oracle at all. For the prediction is fulfilled by the very course that he takes to prevent its fulfilment. Had he remained at court, and allowed princely suitors access to his daughters, the one would not have needed to be "by princely meane . . . stolne"; the other would not have embraced an apparently unnatural love, for Pyrocles would not have needed to disguise himself as a woman in order to court her; and for the same reason there would have been no Zelmane for Basilius to fall in love with, and hence no rendezvous, no *qui-pro-quo*, no adultery, no potion, no apparent death of the King, and no trial of the princes at his bier. As Kalandar says (I. iv, 16) in commenting upon the King's retirement: "The cause of all hath beene the vanitie which possesseth many, who . . . are desirous to know the certaintie of things to come." The same sentiments are repeated in comment upon the full text of the oracle (II. xxviii, 225v.-226). Providence will work out its plans either way: if not searched into or resisted, then perhaps smoothly; if searched into and resisted,—as here,—then ironically and with pain to men.

The arrangement by which the Princes are brought to their destined wives is part of this providential plan. At their birth it is predicted (II. vi, 128v.-129) that they will conquer certain Asiatic Kingdoms. The Kings of these lands



therefore invade Macedonia; hence Pyrocles is sent to be reared with his cousin in Thessaly; hence, too, Evarchus makes war in the East. It is on their way to join him at Byzantium that the Princes are shipwrecked on the coast of Asia; their tour of the East follows,<sup>8</sup> involving incidentally the conquests predicted for them; and it is on their way back to Greece that they are shipwrecked on the coast of Laconia, whence Pyrocles, after his adventures with pirates and Helots, is conducted to Kalanders house, and, falling in love with the portrait of Philoclea, resolves to go to her lodge in the Arcadian woods. This is hardly the nearest way from Thessaly to Arcadia; but 'twill serve; and the chain is complete, with Fortune intervening only here and there, to conduct such minor matters as shipwrecks and piracies—her immemorial prerogative. After the Princes have joined the royal party in the forest, the control of Providence is further manifested in Gynecia's dream (II. xxv, 212v.–213), and in the *second* oracle to Basilius (III. xxvii, 354v.) which bids him "to denie his daughters to *Anaxius* and his brothers, for that they were reserued for such as were better beloved of the gods."

The providential plot thickens, as it were, toward the close. When the remnants of the rebel band, hiding in the forest, happen upon the eloping Musidorus and Pamela (IV. 426), the en-

<sup>8</sup> In the course of this tour, the Princes, beset by Plexirtus with overwhelming numbers and about to be overcome, are saved by the opportune arrival of the King of Pontus (II. x, 145) whom a *dream* has sent to their assistance. Evidently, supernatural powers are taking care of them.

counter is by no means the work of chance. "They were guided by the euerlasting Iustice, vsing themselues to be punishers of their faults, and making their owne actions the beginning of their chastizements . . ." Evarchus having arrived in Arcadia, Philanax says (V. 445): "Surely, surely the heavenly powers have in so full a time bestowed him on vs, to vnite our diuisions." At the trial (V. 458), "So extraordinary a course had the order of the heauens produced at this time, that both nephew and son, were not only prisoners, but unknown to their vncle and father, who for many years had not seen them. And *Pyrocles* was to plead for his life before that throne, in which throne lately before he had saued the Kings life." Accordingly, both the Princes were resolved (V. 464) "that . . . they would as much as they could, couer the shame of their royall parentage . . . wherein the chiefe man they considered was *Evarchus: whom the strange and secret working of iustice had brought to be the iudge over them.* In such a shadow, or rather pit of darkenesse, the wormish mankind lives, that neither they know how to foresee nor what to feare: and are *like tennisbals, tossed by the racket of the higher powers.*" And at the last stage of the dénouement, when Basilius wakes from his long sleep (V. 482), Sidney makes a final reassertion of the providential control of his plot, and connects that control with the fulfilment of the oracle: "At length remembring the Oracle, which now indeed was accomplished, [and] considering all had falne out by the highest providence."

The scope thus left to the agency of chance is narrow. Indeed, Sidney is refreshingly free from the Renaissance slavery to the notion and the word Fortune. His attitude is rather that of a strong intellect that will condescend to the habits of speech prevalent in his time. Fortune, therefore, as a *vera causa* is rare in the "Arcadia," though she appears frequently as a more or less faded metaphor. In the former capacity she introduces Parthenia at the house of Kalandar (I. vii, 31v.): "Fortune (that belike was bid to that banket, and ment then to play the good fellow) brought a pleasant aduenture among thẽ"; she permits the defeat of a Laconian Knight who championed the beauty of Andromana against Phalantus (I. xvi, 69): "therein Fortune had borrowed witte, for indeede she [Andromana] was not cõparable to Artesia"; and she is blamed by Phalantus for his own defeat (I. xvii, 75v.-76): "He excusing himself, and turning over the fault to Fortune, Then let that be your ill Fortune too (said she [Artesia]) that you haue lost me." Again, in the first fight between Pyrocles and Anaxius (II. xix, 186), both spears having been broken, Anaxius's "horse happened to come vpon the point of the broken speare, which fallen to the ground *chaunced* to stand upward; so as it lighting upon his hart, the horse died.<sup>9</sup> He [A] driuen to dismount, threatened, if I [P] did not the like, to *doo as much for my horse, as Fortune had done for his*. But whether for that, or because *I would not be beholding to Fortune for*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the death of the witch of Bessa. *Æth.*, VI. xv.



any part of the victorie, I descended." Finally, she decides who shall tell a story: "*Pamela* pleasantly persisting to haue fortune their iudge, they set hands [to 'draw cuts'] . . . and blind Fortune . . . gave [Mopsa] the preheminance" (II. xiv, 165). It is notable that all these cases except the last occur in episodes, not in the main plot; while the last is an incident of the most trivial kind. Sidney puts Fortune in her place, and keeps her there.<sup>10</sup> He is not even sure that she exists. Among the matters pondered by the student (III. ix, 273v.) are

"The euer-turning speares, the neuer-moving  
ground;  
What essence dest'nie hath; if fortune be or no."

The same intellectual point of view is exhibited in *Pamela's* refutation of Cecropia's atheistic argument that the world was created by chance (III. x, 281v.-282): "Perfect order, perfect beautie, perfect constancie,—if these be the children of Chaunce, or Fortune be the efficient of these, let Wisedome be counted the roote of wickednesse."

But, as has been said, Sidney uses the language like other people. He speaks of Fortune and Nature (I. xvi, 70; II. v, 124v.; II. xvii, 183; II. 236v.; IV. 437), Fortune and Love (II. iv, 119), and their gifts, as well as of the "mazes of fortune" (I. ix, 36), the "labyrinth of her fortune"

<sup>10</sup> On two additional functions which he allows her, that of creating a bizarre situation, and that of conducting a "tragedy," see *post*, pp. 355-357.

(III. 350), the "course of my ill happe" (III. 349), and of parting "from the greatest fortunes" (II. vii, 132v.), suffering "eyther a like or a worse fortune" (I. v, 19), and trying in battle "each others fortune" (I. vi, 27), in the conventional fashion of his time. And in the same conventional fashion he personifies Fortune to point a conceit (II. v, 120v.) which explains why the excellent Dorus is poor: "Belike Fortune was afraide to lay her treasures, where they should be stained with so many perfections."

In her relations to the forces of personality, Fortune becomes at once more real and more weak. Here Sidney departs from the conception of Fortune underlying the Greek Romances, and coincides with the Renaissance in its antithesis of *Virtù* and *Fortuna*. He uses the word "virtue" in its Italian sense of *virtù*. Cecropia explains that she and her husband desired to succeed Basilius speedily on the Arcadian throne (III. ii, 251): "to that passe had my husbands *vertue* (by my good helpe) within short time brought it with a plot we laide, as we should not have needed to have waited the tedious worke of a naturall end of *Basilius*." This is of course the extreme Machiavellian meaning; elsewhere the word has the classic Roman meaning of "valor." Amphialus and the Black Knight (III. xviii, 317) fought "a long space . . ., while neither vertue nor fortune seemed partiall of either side." Sometimes the antithesis actually takes the form of Fortune *versus* "Valor" (III. viii, 272) or "courage" (III. xviii, 317v.; II. iii, 109v.); sometimes

that of Fortune *versus* "ones owne choice" (II. ix, 141v.); sometimes that of Fortune and "deserving" or "desert" (II. i, 99; II. x, 144v.; V. 459); sometimes that of Fortune and wisdom (II. xx, 191v.; IV. 429). In general, virtue sums up the forces of personality, moral or otherwise, fortune those of environment or circumstance. Philanax praises not a fugitive and cloistered virtue. "O no," he protests, against the King's plan to keep his daughters from temptation (I. iv, 15v.): "O no; he cannot be good, that knowes not why he is good, but stands so farre good, as his fortune may keepe him vnassaied." Only a coward will *depend* upon chance, as Clinias does (III. vii, 266); but even a brave man will adapt himself to it,—nay seize it and wring from it success. "Maister *Dorus* (saide the faire *Pamela*) me thinks you blame your fortune very wrongfully, since the fault is not in Fortune, but in you that cannot frame yourself to your fortune" (II. ii, 106). And Pyrocles, biding his time of vengeance for the indignities heaped upon him and the Princesses during their captivity, resolves (III. xxviii, 356v.) "to attend the uttermost occasion, which euē then brought his hairie forehead<sup>11</sup> vnto [him]." Until that time came, however, even he was helpless,—his valor left unarmed, and (III. xx, 327v.) "all troden vnder foot by the wheele of senselesse Fortune." These passages illustrate, without beginning to exhaust, Sidney's employment of the antithesis "Virtue *versus* Fortune."<sup>12</sup> They may be summed up,

<sup>11</sup> "Fronte capillata, post est Occasio calva."

<sup>12</sup> Other passages: II. ii, 107v.; II. x, 144; II. xiii, 160; III. xvi, 310; III. 348; III. 394; IV. 428.



together with Sidney's general attitude on the subject of Fortune as under the control of Providence, in the sentiment of Pyrocles upon parting with his friend (III. 349): "Farewell my Musidorus, the *gods* make *fortune* to waite on thy *vertues*." And so they do.

Such is the plot of the "Arcadia." Its material,—*motif*, situation, incident, episode—comes chiefly from the "Amadis" and the Greek Romances; the material it gets from the former being fitted into the frame of the latter. For its actuating force is the will of the gods, working itself out partly through the agency of Fortune, partly through the agency of human personality—"Virtue." And this dominant force shapes the frame of the story into the monumental form which Heliodorus applied to prose romance.<sup>13</sup> Some considerations upon the narrative technique and *structure* of this plot, as distinguished from its material and its actuating forces, are reserved for a later portion of this chapter (*post*, p. 343 ff.).

The minor part assigned to Fortune in the "Arcadia" leaves rather free play to human personality, and, if Sidney had been not a romancer but a novelist, might have resulted in some notable studies of *character*. As it is, his interest lies chiefly in plot and in setting,—the true interests

<sup>13</sup> Brunhuber, p. 23: "Die Hauptgrundlage des englischen Romans [i. e., Sidney's 'Arcadia'] bildet die Amadis-dichtung, sowie der griechische Liebesroman. In ihnen fand Sidney sein Muster und Vorbild; alle anderen Einflüsse und Einwirkungen erweisen sich als von entschieden untergeordneter Bedeutung." P. 20: "... all das weist direkt oder indirekt auf Heliodor hin, wie überhaupt der Geist Heliodors über der Arcadia schwebt."

of romance—and, next, in structure and style; so that his personages, with the exception of Gynecia, remain types. But they are types well differentiated. Philoclea and Pamela are quite distinct from each other, and from Gynecia; Pyrocles is distinct from Musidorus. Each shows the rudiments of characterization. The younger princess is soft and gentle of manner and temperament and yielding in love, though virtuous; the elder, lofty and majestic in temper, dignified in manner, and of a virtue whose high principles tend to express themselves not only in action but in moralizing. There is excellent “psychology” in the account of Philoclea’s growing affection for Zelmane: her soliloquy is sweet, and both subtle and true (II. iv, 115–119v.). Of the two Princes, Pyrocles is of the slender, delicate, half-feminine, but wholly courageous, high-strung, and “thoroughbred” type; Musidorus more mature, more masculine, more used to the world’s compromises, and himself an adept in dissimulation for good ends. (I. xviii, 79–80v.: a most elaborate deception of his, invented to account for his presence in Arcadia; cf. too his pretended courtship of Mopsa.)

The only characters directly traceable to Greek Romance are the two amorous women: Gynecia an imitation of Melitta; Andromana an imitation of Arsace and Demaeneta combined (cf. *ante*, pp. 313–314). Other personages are merely there to play their part in the Greek Romance plot, and in so far are types from Greek Romance: the eloping hero and the eloping heroine; the King as

judge condemning his own child. In these cases Sidney spares his reader the tedious and superficial "psychology" of Greek Romance; when he has not penetrated to the springs of human conduct, he does not pretend that he has. Seldom interested in character, he will not feign an interest he does not possess.

Among his remaining personages—(there are in all eighty-eight *named* personages<sup>14</sup> in the "Arcadia")—the majority of such as are not names and nothing more (like the Knights named only when they are killed) are types set forth with a half-moralistic purpose hinted by their Greek names: Clinias "a verball craftie coward," Philanax a model counsellor, Evarchus a model King, Calodoulos a model servant, Anaxius a pattern of pride, Antiphilus a dastard lover, Chremes a miser, etc. Of unusual interest in conception though only rudimentary in execution, is the character of Amphialus, doomed to bring misery and death upon all he loves. But Sidney's interest in character, and power to depict it, stop short of adequacy, here as elsewhere.

His humor, too, is rather the humor of situation and of words than that of character. Pyrocles discovering that Musidorus is in love, rallies him (I. xviii, 77v.) by repeating some of the moralizing to which his friend previously treated *him* upon the like occasion; and when Musidorus passionately recants this heresy, and shows unmistakable symptoms of lovesickness, Pyrocles

<sup>14</sup> Herr Brunhuber (p. 21) notes Sidney's adoption of the names Clitophon, Leucippe, and Clinias, from Achilles Tatius.



pretends to think that all this is done to mock at *him*—until he induces Musidorus to assure him gravely that he really is in love! This scene is the high-water mark of Sidney's humor. One wonders why some dramatist has not "conveyed" it into a comedy. Sidney's other humorous passages are less fine. Dametas upon the attack of the she-bear (I. xix, 84) bravely sticks his head in a bush. Dametas and Clinias are egged on to fight each other in an island; and this "Combat of Cowards" (III. xiii, 296v.-301) affords comic relief after the account of Argalus's death: the fun lies in Dametas's abusive challenge, his *imprese* and motto, his awkwardness in managing his horse and weapons, and in his continual fear: "he cast his eye about, to see which way he might runne away, cursing all Ilands in being euill scituated." But in all this there is physical absurdity that almost amounts to horseplay. And on the other hand, in Sidney's would-be funny accounts of the slaughter wrought by his heroes upon the Arcadian rebels, there is an ugly vein of cruelty that spoils the verbal quips (II. xxv, 215-216): Pyrocles cuts off the nose of a tailor, who stoops to pick it up. "But as his hand was on the ground to bring his nose to his head, [Pyrocles] with a blow sent his head to his nose." This inhuman contempt for the rabble—one of the seamy sides of the chivalry even of a Sidney—is hardly to our modern taste. There is rather gross horseplay again in the situation where Dametas returning from his futile hunt for buried treasure finds Mopsa up a tree, holds her when she comes tum-

bling down, talks with her at cross-purposes, and gets a beating from Miso for his pains (IV. 405-7). An interesting passage of humor in the peasant vein (II. xiv, 162v.-166) intervenes between the chivalrous, courtly, tragic episode of Erona and Antiphilus, related by Philoclea, and the similar episode of Plangus and Andromana, related by Pamela. Miso interrupts the Princesses to give *her* view of love, as she heard it from an old woman; an unchivalrous, clerkly, peasant view of love in contrast with the views suggested by the Princesses. Then Mopsa proceeds to tell an old wives' tale—in fact a fairy-tale. The fun comes from the contrasting views of love, from Miso's conceit of her former beauty, from her prolixity,<sup>15</sup> from Mopsa's homely peasant phrases, and from the formulae, repetition, and alliteration of her mediaeval narrative.<sup>16</sup> At last Philo-

<sup>15</sup> "Which when this good old womā perceiued (O the good wold woman, well may the bones rest of the good wold womā) she cald me into her house. I remember full well it stood in the lane as you go to the Barbers shop, all the towne knew her, there was a great losse of her: she called me to her, and taking first a soppe of wine to comfort her hart (it was of the same wine that comes out of *Candia*, which we pay so deere for now a daies and in that good worlde was very good cheape) she cald me to her; Minion said she," etc., etc. Is Miso an ancestress of Dame Quickly?

<sup>16</sup> "So one day, as his daughter was sitting in her window, playing vpon a harpe, as sweete as any Rose, and combing her head with a combe all of precious stones, there came in a knight into the court, vpō a goodly horse, one haire of gold, and the other of siluer. . . . And so in May, when all true hartes reioyce, they stale out of the Castel. . . . But hauing laien so (wet by the raine, and burnt by the Sun) fīue dayes, and fīue nights, she gat up and went ouer many a high hil, and many a deepe riuer. . . . And so she went, & she went, & neuer rested the

clea "stints" Mopsa of her tale much as the Host stints Chaucer of his "drasty" tale of Sir Thopas, and for much the same reasons. Here again the humor lies somewhat deep—in the incongruity between the courtly and the peasant views of love, and in the suggested incongruity between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

The sources of Sidney's humor are thus quite foreign to Greek Romance. Even that humoristic *motif* which is to be expected in any Elizabethan writer—misogyny,—and for which Sidney might have taken something from Achilles Tatius—appears in the "Arcadia" only to be condemned. Musidorus remonstrates with Pyrocles against falling in love (I. xii, 51v. ff.), but the tables are turned upon him (I. xviii, 77v.). Geron and Histor hold an amoeboeic pastoral *débat de conjuge ducenda* (I. 93v.-95), the former out of his age and experience arguing *pro*, the latter out of his disappointment in love arguing *contra*; and though the contest is left undecided, the old shepherd has the best of it. A certain Knight (III. xii, 290-290v.) maintains "blasphemies against womankind; that namely that sex was the ouersight of Nature, the disgrace of reasonableness, the obstinate cowards, the slaue-borne tyrants, the shops of vanities, the guilded wethercocks; in whom conscience is but peeuishnes, chastitie waywardnes, & gratefulnes a miracle." But Amphialus vanquishes him. Sir Philip's chivalry renders

evening, where she wēt in the morning. . . . With Dayly Diligence and Grisly Grones, he wan her affection. . . . And so she went . . . til she came to a second Aunt, and she gaue her another Nut."



impossible his adoption of the misogyny of Achilles Tatius.

Characterization in the "Arcadia" is thus but slightly indebted, and humor in the "Arcadia" not indebted at all, to the Greek Romances. Where Sidney himself is somewhat meagre, he draws least from this source.

It is otherwise with his employment of setting, or descriptive background. The moment the Princes are received by Kalander, Sidney indulges in a burst of pictorial writing—an *ἐκφρασις* describing Kalander's garden, pavilion, and paintings (I. iii, 9v.-10). The garden is patterned after Clitophon's (A. T., I. xv), with a pond in the middle which, like Clitophon's, doubles by reflection the beauties of flowers and trees. As if to acknowledge definitely his indebtedness, Sidney parallels Achilles Tatius's quibble about the trunk and the ivy ("The trunk was a support to the ivy, the ivy a wreath to the trunk") with a similar quibble about the "beddes of flowers, which being under the trees, the trees were to them a Pavilion, and they to the trees a mosaical floore." After describing an elaborate fountain,<sup>17</sup> he proceeds to the garden-house and its paintings: "There was *Diana* when Actaeon sawe her bathing, in whose cheekes the painter had set such a colour, as was mixt betweene shame &

<sup>17</sup> This consists of a marble statue of Venus with the breasts running. It resembles the fountains of Venus and the Graces, in the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili" (Facsimiles: Plates 23, 149, 150, 151) rather more than it resembles the carving on the vase in Sannazaro's "Arcadia," to which Herr Brunhuber (p. 11) is inclined to attribute it.

disdaine. . . . In another table was *Atalanta*; the posture of whose limmes was so liuelie expressed, that . . . one would have sworne the very picture had runne." Here we recognize Achilles Tatius's stock devices of "conflicting emotions" and of speaking of a picture as if it were alive (A. T., III. vii, viii, V. iii).

The description of Basilius's lodge and of the "devices" at the banquet (Arc., I. xiii, 62; xiv, 62v.) recalls the Greek Romances only in its elaborateness: "The table was set neere to an excellent water-worke; for by the casting of the water in most cunning maner, it made (with the shining of the Sunne vpon it) a perfect rainbow . . . There were birds also made so finely, that they did not only deceiue the sight with their figure, but the hearing with their songs, which the watrie instruments did make their gorge deliuer."<sup>18</sup> Strangely enough, too, the storm which brought about the Princes' first shipwreck (Arc., II. vii, 131v.-132v.), does not owe anything specific to either Heliodorus or Achilles Tatius; nor does the exquisite description of the river Ladon (III. xi, 148v.-149)—a lovely bit of landscape apparently Sidney's own. And strangest of all, Sidney neither here nor elsewhere takes anything from Longus.

The descriptions of which he is most fond, the descriptions of symbolic armor and *imprese*, recall Achilles Tatius's emblems, but probably are wholly due to the chivalry of Sidney's own time,

<sup>18</sup> A similar device is described by Nash's "Unfortunate Traveller" (ed. McKerrow, II. 283-4) who saw it in a garden at Rome.

which in its decay was grown symbolic and spectacular. Thus Amphialus preparing to court his prisoner Philoclea (III. iii, 253), selected his apparel with much care, particularly as to its color; "lest if gay, he might seeme to glorie in his iniury, and her wrong; if mourning, it might strike some euill presage vnto her of her fortune." He chose at length "black veluet, richly embrodered with great pearle, & precious stones, but they set so among certaine tuffes of cypres, that the cypres was like blacke clowds, through which the starrs might yeeld a darke luster." His collar was of alternate pieces, "the one . . . of Diamonds and pearle, set with a white enamell, so as . . . it seemed like shining ice, and the other . . . of Rubies, and Opalles, had a fierie glistring, which he thought pictured the two passions of Feare and Desire, wherein he was enchainned." One other of these numerous passages is quoted because of its autobiographical interest. At the Iberian jousts (II. xxi, 196) "the Iberian Knight PHILISIDES" [= Sir PHILIP Sidney himself] appeared in shepherdish attire, with a shepherd's boy as a page, and his lance-bearers dressed as shepherds—all very richly. "His *Impresa* was a sheepe marked with pitch, with this word *Spotted to be knowne*. And . . . before the Ladies departed from the windowes, among them there was one (they say) that was the *Star* [= STELLA], whereby his course was only directed."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Other descriptions of symbolic attire, armor, and *imprese*, are found at I. xiii, 60v.; I. xvi, 68v.; I. xvii, 71v.; II. xxi, 197; III. xi, 287v.; III. xii, 292v.; III. xiii, 297v.; III. xvi, 308v.; III. xviii, 315-315v., 320v.



A pure emblem, not connected with clothing or armor, is used by Dorus in his courtship of Pamela (II. iii, 112): "I tooke a Iewell, made in the figure of a crab-fish, which, because it looks one way and goes another, I thought it did fitly patterne out my looking to *Mopsa*, but bending to *Pamela*: The word about it was, *By force, not choice*; and still kneeling, besought the Princesse that she would vouchsafe to give it *Mopsa*."

Miso's description of the old woman's concept of Love is also purely emblematic (II. xiv, 163v.-164): "With that she broght me into a corner, where ther was painted a foule fiēd I trow: for he had a paire of hornes like a Bull, his feete clouen, as many eyes vpon his bodie, as my gray-mare hath dappels, & for all the world so placed. This mōster sat like a hāgman vpō a paire of gallowes, in his right hand he was painted holding a crowne of Laurell, in his left hand a purse or mony, & out of his mouth honge a lace of two faire pictures, of a mǎ & a womǎ, & such a countenance he shewed, as if he would perswade folks by those aluremēts to come thither & be hanged." Of course, this kind of thing is wholly mediaeval, not even touched by the Renaissance.

There are passages, however, which, though emblematically descriptive, yet suggest not only the Renaissance but Heliodorus too. The *trionfo* of Phalantus, for example (I. xvi, 68v.-71), headed by his lady Artesia in a chariot "inriched with pur[p]le & pearle, . . . drawne by foure winged horses with artificiall flaming mouths, and fiery winges, as if she had newly borrowed

them of Phoebus," is of course a piece of Renaissance pageantry, but is reminiscent of the procession at Delphi (*Æth.*, III, iii, iv; U 81-2). Pyrocles disguised as an Amazon (*Arc.*, I. xii, 50), though his attire be symbolic, yet reminds one of Theagenes in that procession. Pyrocles's mantle is "closed together with a very riche iewell: the devise whereof . . . was this: a *Hercules* made in little fourme, but a distaffe set within his hand as he once was by *Omphales* commaundement, with a worde in Greeke, . . . Never more valiant": that is, never more valiant than when disguised as a woman in order to be the servitor of love—a plight shared by both *Hercules* and Pyrocles. The Heliodorean reminiscence, dimmed here by Renaissance emblems, becomes unmistakable in other descriptive passages that are free from symbolism. Pamela's description of Musidorus on horseback (*Arc.*, II. v, 122)—his skill in manage, the pride of the horse, etc.—is a palpable imitation of the description of Theagenes riding in the pomp at Delphi (*Æth.*, III. iii; U 81-2, quoted *ante*, p. 185).

Sidney has acquired from Heliodorus, too, the trick of "pathetic optics." On two occasions he uses the device of bringing a person within the field of sight or hearing of another who has been too preoccupied to be aware of him (cf. *Æth.*, I. i; *ante*, p. 177). When Musidorus and Clitophon have repulsed the attack of Queen Helen's escort, she continues to keep her eyes fixed upon the portrait of Amphialus, which has

held her gaze throughout the fight (Arc., I. x, 43): "But the chiefe Ladie [viz. Queen Helen] hauing not so much as once heard the noise of this cõflict (so had sorow closed vp al the entries of her mind, & loue tied her sēces to that beloved picture), now the shadow of him [viz., Musidorus] falling vpō the picture made her cast vp her eie, and seeing the armor which too wel she knew [the armor of Amphialus], thinking him to be *Amphialus* the Lord of her desires (bloud coming more freely into her cheekes, as though it would be bold, & yet there growing new againe pale for feare) with a pitiful looke (like one vniustly condeñed) My Lord *Amphialus* (said she)" . . . , etc. Again, *Amphialus* visiting his beloved captive *Philoclea* (Arc. III. iii, 253v) finds her "(because her chamber was ouerlightsome) sitting of that side of her bedde which was from the windowe; which did cast such a shadow vpon her, as a good Painter woulde bestowe uppon *Venus*, when vnder the trees she bewayled the murther of *Adonis*: . . . ouer her head a scarfe, which did eclipse almost halfe her eyes, which vnder it fixed their beames upon the wall . . . with [a] . . . steddie maner . . . ; and so remayned they a good while after his comming in, he not daring to trouble her, nor she perceyuing him, till that (a little varying her thoughts something quickening her senses) she heard him as he happed to stirre his vpper garment [which was stiff with silk, velvet, and pearls (see *ante*, p. 336) and would rustle and crackle] ; and perceyuing him, rose up, with a de-



meanure, where in the booke of Beautie there was nothing to be read but Sorrow: for Kindnesse was blotted out, and Anger was neuer there." The *distracte* lady, the position of her eyes, the interrupting man entering the field of her consciousness, the pictorial envisagement of the situation, the lady's pathos, and its effect upon her countenance,—these are the traditional elements of Sidney's Heliodorean scene.<sup>20</sup>

The flavor of Heliodorus in the "Arcadia" grows more and more intense toward the close (cf. *ante*, p. 322); and at the trial one is not surprised to find a perfect deluge of pathetic optics. Here is the spectacular *ensemble*-scene of ordeal; men's lives and women's honor at stake; the succession to the Arcadian throne to be determined; an august judge; an ample audience to be moved and to show its emotion, itself part of the moving spectacle. On Basilius's throne (V. 458) "*Euarchus* did set himselfe all clothed in blacke, with the principall men, who could in that suddennesse prouide themselves of such mourning rayments; the whole people commanded to keepe an orderly silence of each side, which was duly obserued of them, partly for the desire they had to see a good conclusion of these matters, and partly stricken with admiration, as well at the graue and Princely presence of *Euarchus*, as at the greatnesse of the cause, which was then to come in question." Enter now the prisoners (*ibid.*, 459), *Pyrocles*, *Musidorus*, and

<sup>20</sup> Cf. also A. T., VI. vi: When Thersander enters the hut, Leucippe raises her dejected eyes, which he sees by a dim light.

Gynecia. "Her *eies downe on the ground*, of purpose not to looke on *Pyrocles* face . . . for the *feare, those motions [=emotions]* . . . *should be reuiued*, which she had with the passage of infinite sorrowes mortified. *Great was the compassion the people felt, to see their Princesse state and beautie so deformed.* . . . But by and by *the sight* of the other two prisoners [Pyr. and Mus.] *drew most of the eies to that spectacle.*" And indeed their array and their bearing were most splendid. Pyrocles came "clothed after the Greeke manner, in a long coate of white veluet, . . . with great buttons of Diamonds all along upon it;" his white neck bare; on his feet "slippers, which, after the ancient maner, were tyed up with certaine laces, which were fastned under his Knee, having wrapped about (with many prettie Knots) his naked legges;" his auburn hair, stirring in the wind, tied with a white ribbon, each end of which was adorned with a rich pearl. Musidorus was in a satin mantle of Tyrian purple, and wore a Persian tiara, set with rubies, upon his black curling hair.<sup>21</sup> Their courage in the face of death was thus expressed by way of the pride of life and lust of the eye. "In this sort with erected countenances did these vnfortunate Princes suffer themselues to be ledde, shewing aright, by the comparison of them and *Gynecia*, how *to diuers persons compassion is diuersly to bee stirred.*" *Gynecia*, favorably known to the spectators, and

<sup>21</sup> The color-scheme of their array accords with their complexions. The blond is in white, with diamonds and pearls, the brown in reds, with gold and rubies.

known to be fallen from a high estate, stirs compassion by an appearance of humility; the strangers, scarcely known, known only unfavorably, and not known to be Princes, must conquer compassion with an appearance of extraordinary valor. "*And such effect indeed it wrought in the whole assembly, their eyes yet standing as it were in the ballance to whether of them they should most direct their sight.*" Gynecia having finished her confession, sits down (*ibid.*, 462). "But a great while it was, before anie bodie could bee heard speake, the whole people concurring in a lamentable crie, so much had Gynecia's words and behauour stirred their hearts to a dolefull compassion, neither in troath could most of them in their iudgments tell, whether they should bee more sorrie for her fault or her miserie: for the losse of her estate, or losse of her vertue. But *most were most moved with that which was under their eies, the sense most subject to pitie.*"

Further quotation, of the *pathos* of the guards and the spectators after Gynecia's condemnation (*ibid.*, 463), of the *pathos* of Pyrocles and of Musidorus during and after Philanax's invectives against them (*ibid.*, 467-8, 473), of the *pathos* of the people and of Sympathus at the conclusion of Musidorus's reply (*ibid.*, 474), and of the *pathos* of the people and of Philanax himself at Calodoulos's disclosure of the Princes' identity—could scarcely render more irresistible the conclusion that Sidney is consciously and deliberately borrowing the pathetic optics of Heliodorus.



The same may be said of Sidney's borrowing of Heliodorus's narrative method, or *structure* (as distinguished from his narrative material—see *ante*, p. 328). To render this point clear, it will be necessary to give some account of the growth of the "Arcadia" to its present form under Sidney's hand.

The earliest extant allusion to the "Arcadia" is believed<sup>22</sup> to be that in Thomas Howell's "Devises" (1581). In this collection the verses "*Written to a most excellent Book, full of rare inuention*" (ed. Grosart, pp. 204-5) can hardly refer to anything but Sidney's romance:

"Goe learned booke, and vnto Pallas sing,  
Thy pleasant tunes. . . .

How much they erre, thy rare euent bewrayes,  
That stretch their skill the fates to ouerthrow:  
And how mans wisdom here in vaine seekes  
wayes,

To shun high powers that sway our states below.  
Against whose rule, although we strive to runne,  
What *Loue* foresets, no humaine force may shunne.

. . . . .  
But all to long, thou hidste so perfite worke,  
. . . Then shewe thy selfe and seeme no more  
vnkinde.

Unfolde thy fruite, and spread thy maysters praise,  
Whose prime of youth, graue deeds of age displaies.

Go choyce conceits . . .

Discourse of Lovers, and such as folde sheepe, . . .  
Goe yet I say . . .

The worthy Countesse see thou follow euer,  
Tyll Fates doe fayle, maintaine her Noble name.  
. . . "

<sup>22</sup> "Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.," III. viii, p. 211.

This would perhaps date the composition of the "Arcadia" rather before 1580, the year of Sidney's retirement to Wilton, and the year usually assigned. A year of non-publication—from 1580 to 1581—would hardly be enough to justify Howell in complaining . . . "all to long thou hidste so perfite work—"; books often remained unpublished and were circulated in Ms. for much longer than a year. The "Arcadia" may well have been composed, as Mr. Dobell suggests (p. 82), between 1578 and 1580.

More important for the present purpose than the date, is the *form* in which Sidney wrote his romance. A letter<sup>23</sup> of Lord Brooke (Fulke Greville, Sidney's friend) to Sir Francis Walsingham (Sidney's father-in-law) written after Sidney's death (1586), preserved among the State Papers, and endorsed "November, 1586," speaks of "Sr. Philip Sydney's old arcadia," and of "a correction of that old one, don 4 or 5 years sinse, which he [Sidney] left in trust with me; wherof ther is no more copies, and fitter to be printed then the first, which is so common." Abraham Fraunce's "Arcadian Rhetorike," as observed by E. Koepfel,<sup>24</sup> and Beaumont and Fletcher's "Cupids Revenge,"<sup>25</sup> which is founded on the "Arcadia," show that Sidney at first used the name *Cleophila* (adopted from the "Amadis")<sup>26</sup> instead of *Zelmane*. There was evidently, then, an "Old Arcadia," unpublished but circulated in

<sup>23</sup> Quoted by Sommer, *Introduction* to his facsimile ed., p. 1; and by Dobell, p. 76.

<sup>24</sup> *Anglia*, X. 522 ff. Cited by Brunhuber, p. 19, n. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Brunhuber, *ibid.*, and p. 32.

<sup>26</sup> Brunhuber, p. 19.

manuscript, which, in one particular at least, differed from the published versions.

How much it differed remained unknown for rather more than three centuries, during which it was supposed that no copies of the "Old Arcadia" were extant. In the year 1907, however, Mr. Bertram Dobell found no less than three Ms. copies of it.<sup>27</sup> The contents of these were "practically identical."<sup>28</sup> Two of them are now in the possession of an American collector, who has kindly permitted me to examine them, and to make the transcripts and notes printed in the present study (Appendix B). Mr. Dobell's account, verified at every point, and supplemented, by my own examination of the Mss., supports the following assertions:

1. Sidney wrote, during or before 1580, a complete romance, never printed, but widely circulated in Ms. It consisted of five books, or "Acts," with "Eglogues" inserted between every two books. This is the original, or "Old Arcadia."

2. Later he began "a correction of that old one," or rather a new version, entirely recast, and greatly augmented by the addition of numerous episodes. This new version, when cut off by his death in 1586, had proceeded to a point near the end of one of the added episodes—that of "Cecropia or the Captivity." As far as it went, the recast version contained two Books, with two sets of Eclogues, and an inordinately long frag-

<sup>27</sup> His account of his find appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, July, 1909 (Vol. 211), pp. 74-100.

<sup>28</sup> Dobell, p. 89.



ment of a Third Book. It was published in 1590, quarto; and is the first edition of any part of the "Arcadia." The "overseer of the print" divided it into chapters, with captions indicating the contents of each chapter. This I call the "New Arcadia."

3. In 1593 appeared an edition authorized by the Countess of Pembroke. This is the current version, reproduced in numerous subsequent editions, and may be called the "Arcadia," *sans plus*. It is made up as follows:

(a) The New Arcadia, but without chapter-divisions or chapter-headings; divided only into Book I; Eclogues; Book II; Eclogues; and Book III as far as the end of the revision.

(b) An ending to Book III, *consisting of the whole of Book III of the Old Arcadia*; likewise Eclogues to Book III; Book IV; Eclogues to Book IV; and Book V, *all from the Old Arcadia*.

(c) At the beginning of the part of Book III following the hiatus—viz., at the beginning of Book III of the Old Arcadia, there has been inserted a transitional clause not found in the Old Arcadia: "After that *Basilius* (according to the Oracles promise) had received back his daughters," etc. Of course, no such clause was necessary, or possible, in the Old Arcadia, for that did not contain the episode of the Captivity. Doubtless it was inserted by the Countess or her friends to bridge the gap.

(d) At the end of Book V, the list of unfinished episodes omits the loves of Amasis and Artaxia (see Ap. B, p. 475), and mentions instead the

episode of Helen and Amphialus. The reason is that "Amasis and Artaxia" is in the Old Arcadia but not in the New; "Helen and Amphialus" is in the New Arcadia but not in the Old. Doubtless this change, like (c), was made by the Countess or her friends.

The changes which Sidney made in the Old Arcadia to produce the New are of great interest. The contents of the Old Arcadia are as follows:

A. What I have called the "main plot": Oracle; Basilius and his family retire; Princes arrive, fall in love, assume disguise; Basilius (here called "Duke," not "King") and Gynecia fall in love with "Cleophila" (Pyrocles's name as Amazon, instead of "Zelmane"—cf. *ante*, p. 344); and contents of Books III, IV, and V as in the current "Arcadia": Musidorus and Pamela elope and are captured; "Cleophila" makes double rendezvous and double quiproquo, and is captured with Philoclea; Basilius drinks potion and is supposed to be dead; Evarchus arrives and presides at trial; recognition, reunion, resuscitation of Basilius, and happy ending.

B. The earlier history of the Princes. This is only hinted in the body of the Romance, but is told in full (though much more briefly than in the New Arcadia), in the Eclogues to Books I and II.

C. Episodes—also excluded from the body of the Romance, and related in the Eclogues to Books I and II as they occur in connection with the Princes' travels: (a) Erona, Antiphilus, and

Plangus (Ap. B, p. 472). (*b*) Amasis and his (unnamed) stepmother, Queen at Memphis (Ap. B, p. 473-4). (*c*) Andromana and the Princes (Ap. B, p. 473). (Nothing about Andromana and Plangus,<sup>29</sup> Argalus and Parthenia, Amphialus and Helen, Phalantus and Artesia, Pamphilus and Dido, the Paphlagonica, or the Captivity.)

Especially notable is the *order* in which these materials are set forth. The oracle, the actuating force of the whole Romance, is artlessly disclosed at the very beginning. Thenceforth the other events in the Main Plot follow in chronological order. The Earlier History of the Princes, the Episodes—all that might invert the chronological order, or in any way render the narrative complex or involved—are shut off into the Eclogues.

The processes by which Sidney turned the Old Arcadia into the New may be classified as follows:

1. *Augmentation*.—He added largely to the Princes' previous adventures; and he added *in toto* the episodes of Argalus and Parthenia, Amphialus and Helen, Phalantus and Artesia, Pamphilus and Dido, the Paphlagonica or Galatica, and Cecropia or the Captivity.

2. *Combination or Merger*.—He compounded Andromana, who solicited and imprisoned the Princes<sup>30</sup> and was afterwards the wife of an apple-monger, with the unnamed Egyptian Queen who solicited and slandered her stepson Amasis, and afterwards killed herself.<sup>31</sup> He called the combination "Andromana," made her at first the

<sup>29</sup> But see *post*, p. 349.

<sup>30</sup> Heliodorus's Arsace.

<sup>31</sup> Heliodorus's Demaeneta.



wife of a citizen, and attributed to her *both* the attempted intrigues,—that with the Princes, and that with, and against, her stepson (cf. *ante*, pp. 313–314).

This stepson, originally Amasis a Prince at Memphis, Sidney merged into the Plangus who was already in love with Erona; and he called the result “Plangus.” Consequently he discarded Amasis, whose betrothal to Artaxia was mentioned in the Old Arcadia, and whose story was left unfinished at the end. Consequently, too, the editors of the current “Arcadia” were obliged to strike out this mention from the end of their Book V (see *ante*, pp. 346–347).

3. *Complication*.—The Episodes, and the Previous History of the Princes, Sidney now took from the Eclogues, and inserted them into the body of the New Arcadia. The Previous History of the Princes he now placed in their own mouths: they *tell* the “story of their lives” as part of their courtship (Musidorus at II. iii, vi-x, Pyrocles at II. xvii–xxiii). Their act of narration is thus one of the events actually current in the Main Plot. The Episodes come into the current narrative in either or both of two ways. When, like “Phalantus and Artesia,” the episode has no connection with the previous history of the Princes, it is simply inserted in the Main Plot. When, like the “Paphlagonica,” it forms part of the experience of the Princes during their tour through Asia, it comes in as a portion of *their* narrative. And when, as in the case of “Antiphillus, Erona, and Plangus” it also forms part of

a chain of events affecting the Main Plot itself, it enters the current narrative in both ways: the Princesses tell part of it, and we hear that Plangus himself was their informant, as he *passed through Arcadia* on his way to summon Evarchus to the rescue of Erona. Not satisfied merely to connect episodes with the Main Plot, Sidney must connect them with each other too. Plangus appears in the episode of Erona and in that of Andromana. Plexirtus reaches out from the "Paphlagonica," and takes in marriage Artaxia, from the "Erona" story. Together they not only continue to persecute Erona, and cause Plangus to seek rescue for her across the Main Plot, but they seek the lives of the Princes; and it was Plexirtus's treachery that cast the Princes on the Laconian coast, and ultimately brought them to the family of Basilius. Amphialus, in the same way, figures in the episode of Queen Helen, the episode of Argalus and Parthenia, the episode of the Captivity, and the Main Plot.

4. *Suspense*.—An immediate result of this interpolation and interlacing of episode with main plot and with previous history is that no story is ever finished at a sitting. One story must be suspended while another is begun; and that in its turn must give way to a third; then the main current may be resumed for a moment, only to stop again while one of the inserted stories is continued.<sup>32</sup> Thus (II. xiv, 162) Philoclea has

<sup>32</sup> Despite his frequent interruptions, however, Sidney does not indulge in digression or irrelevancy, except in his descriptions of *imprese* (cf. *ante*, p. 335 ff). He confesses his fault (II. xxi, 196v.): "Thus I have digrest,

told the first portion of the story of Erona, ending with the marriage to Antiphilus. Now, she says, there is horrible matter to tell: "So if I do not desire you to stop your eares frō me, yet may I well desire a breathing time, before I am to tell the execrable treason of *Antiphilus*." Accordingly she stops, and asks Pamela to tell meanwhile the story of Plangus. Pamela is willing; but Miso interrupts with her abuse of Love, and Mopsa interrupts with her fairy-tale. Then (II. xv, 166-172) Pamela tells the story of Plangus, to the point where Plangus returns to Armenia leaving Erona married to Antiphilus (viz., the same point of time at which Philoclea has broken off): 172 "when *Erona* by the treason of *Antiphilus*. But at that word she stopped. For *Basilus* . . . came sodainly among them." The Main Plot now goes on. The story of Erona is not resumed till the end of II. xxiv, 212v., and then only to be interrupted as soon as resumed. It is actually told at last by Basilus to Zelmane (=Pyrocles), II. xxix, 227-233v. (the very end of Book II).

5. *Inversion*.—This new narrative plan implies an almost total destruction of chronological order. The epic convention of having "the story of one's life" narrated by a personage in the course of the current story, belongs with the epic convention of plunging at once *in medias res*. Sidney adopts both for the New Arcadia. It begins with the Princes' *second* shipwreck, the one that casts them on the coast of Laconia. Thence because his manner liked me wel;" and again (*ibid.*, 197): "But the delight of those pleasing sights have [sic] carried me too farre in an unnecessary discourse."



it proceeds chronologically, until Kalander goes back to tell the occasion of Basilius's retirement. Until Musidorus meets Pyrocles again at Cardamila, the story is chronological once more; but then Pyrocles must go back and tell his adventures from the time when the pirates took him from the floating mast. This alternation of current narrative moving straightforward, with *related* narrative telling of earlier events, continues till the end of Book II, after which comes the Captivity, and then the long *dénouement* in the order of time as it prevailed in the Old Arcadia. The epic convention finds its greatest triumph, perhaps, in withholding the text of the oracle, the prime mover of the Main Plot, till the reader, if he has survived at all, is dying of curiosity to know what all this is about. Though he has heard that an Oracle caused it all, he is not told what the Oracle said, until folio 225 *verso*,—450 pages from the beginning!

Of course, such marvellous involution and complexity defeat their own artistic ends. One who reads for pleasure simply cannot understand the "Arcadia." He gets a dim notion, after awhile, of the course of the Main Plot; but most of the Episodes, with their relation to each other, to the Main Plot, and to the Previous History of the Princes, remain in a fog. Only a deliberate disentanglement of the threads—to employ a paradox—can make the pattern clear. But the same process of disentanglement shows with what deliberation, and with what almost incredible skill, Sidney performed the opposite process—the process

of re-weaving the Old Arcadia upon the loom of Heliodorus. For he has not dropped a single thread in the whole enormous design. As far as he recast it, the grandiose pattern is perfect.<sup>33</sup> And evidences of deliberate narrative skill abound: as in the employment of suspense (cf. *ante*, pp. 350-351), the introduction of comic relief (cf. *ante*, pp. 330-331), the ridicule of mediaeval narrative structure (cf. *ante*, pp. 332-3), and the lapse of Musidorus's narrative about himself from the third to the first person (II. xiii, 137),—a lapse which betrays his identity to the amused Pamela.<sup>34</sup> Evidently, Sidney has acquired to the full the narrative technique of Heliodorus, and has bettered the instruction.

The Old Arcadia consisted of material largely derived from Heliodorus and wholly kept within a Heliodorean frame; the New Arcadia retains this material and this frame, and deliberately recasts it in the Heliodorean mould of narrative structure. Sidney has learned to write Greek Romance in English. It is difficult not to regard the New Arcadia as a conscious attempt to domesticate the *genre*.

<sup>33</sup> There is one inconsistency, so trivial as to be scarcely worth mentioning. At II. x, 142, the Princes are said to be on their way through "*Galacia*" when they overhear the talk of the deposed and blinded King with his son Leonatus. *Ibid.*, 143, Leonatus, in telling the story, says: "This old man . . . was lately rightfull Prince of *this countrie of Paphlagonia*." At II. xxii, 201v.; II. xxiii, 206v., and *ibid.*, 208, it is *Galatia* again.—Sidney may have forgotten to change one "*Paphlagonia*" to "*Galatia*"; or his Ms. change may have been so dim that the printer made the error, which the "overseer of the print" overlooked.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. "*Heptameron*" (VII), 62.

This impression is confirmed, strongly and subtly, by the style of the "Arcadia." Compounded of many ingredients, Sidney's style varies from page to page. Sometimes it is touched with Euphuism, sometimes with Petrarchism, sometimes with the Catalogue, Summary, and Splitting Constructions of late Latin rhetoric. Sometimes it has lovely cadences of its own,—as in the passage about the shepherd who piped "as if he never would be old," or the passage (quoted *ante*, p. 339) ending "for Kindness was blotted out, and Anger was never there." But its prevailing characteristics are "epideictic": a fondness for the oratory, the theatrical terminology, the antithesis, and the oxymoron, which give such a specific flavor to Greek Romance.

The first of these is more prominent in the Old Arcadia than in the New. There are, to be sure, three set speeches in the newer Books: Pyrocles's oration to the Helots (I. vii, 29v.—30v.); Pyrocles's harangue to the Arcadian rebels (II. xxvi, 217—220); and Clinias's crafty and plausible explanation of the rebellion he has himself incited (II. xxvii, 221v.—223v.). But these are almost inconsiderable when compared with the full tide of discourse in the Old Arcadia—the latter part of Book III, together with Books IV and V. The space which in Books I—III was filled with action or the narrative of action (frequently episodic) is here, in the absence of episodes, given over to speech-making. There are long parting speeches between the princely friends (III. 347); protestations between the lovers (III. 361); arguments



for and against suicide (IV. 419-22); Musidorus's argument to persuade his rebel captors to help him elope with Pamela instead of turning him over to the authorities (IV. 431); Timautus's harangue against Philanax, and Philanax's reply (IV. 436); Philanax's petition to Evarchus to accept the Protectorate, and Evarchus's reply (V. 450, 451); Evarchus's speech to the Arcadians upon assuming the Protectorate (V. 452). And finally there is the grand outburst of *Eloquentia* at the trial: Musidorus's harangue to the Arcadians to persuade them to protect Pamela (V. 460); Pyrocles's exoneration of Philoclea (V. 461); Gynecia's public confession (V. 462); Philanax's invective against Pyrocles (V. 464-467); Pyrocles's reply (V. 468-470); Philanax's invective against Musidorus (V. 472-3); Musidorus's reply (V. 473-4); Evarchus's sentence (V. 475-477); and his confirmation of it after being informed who the prisoners are (V. 479). The bulk of this material, especially when taken together with those other pieces of display, the *ἐκφράσεις*, is so great as to give to the "Arcadia" as a whole the same distinctly rhetorical cast that is characteristic of Greek Romance.

Sidney's envisagement of his situations in theatrical terms is about equally reminiscent of Achilles Tatius and of Heliodorus. The Princesses have a moment's respite when Amphialus and Cecropia have been put out of the way; but soon Anaxius threatens them with death (III. xxvi, 349v): "Sister (said she) you see how many acts our Tragedy hath: Fortune is not yet a wearie of

vexing us" (cf. A. T., VI. iii; Æth., V. vi; VI. iii). Musidorus tells of the Princes' first shipwreck (II. vii, 131v.): "There arose euen with the Sun, a vaile of darke cloudes before his face, which shortly . . . had blacked ouer all the face of heaven; preparing (as it were) a mournfull stage for a Tragedie to be plaied on" (*ibid.*, 132v.). "The next morning . . . having runne fortune as blindly as it selfe ever was painted, lest the conclusion should not aunswere to the rest of the play, they were driuen vpon a rocke." The reason why the King of Pontus sent aid to the Princes on their way through Galatia (Paphlagonia) was that he thought that country, ruled as it was by Plexirtus (II. x, 145), "a fit place inough to make the stage of any Tragedie." Under the tortures inflicted by Cecropia (III. xx, 327v.-328) Philoclea "wasted, euen longing for the conclusion of her tedious tragedie." Having concluded to show Philoclea the (pretended) decapitation of Pamela, Cecropia (III. xxi, 329v.) "went to Philoclea, and told her, that now she was come to the last parte of the play" (*ibid.*, 330v.). "And since no intreating, nor threatning might preuayle, she bad her prepare her eies for a new play, which she should see within fewe houres in the hall of that castle." When Anaxius attempts a loutish caress (III. xxvi, 352), Pamela exclaims: "Proud beast, yet thou plaiest worse thy Comedy, then thy Tragedy" (cf. A. T., VIII. x: Τῆς μὲν τοῦ ἱερέως . . . κωμωδίας ἤκούσαμεν, . . . ἀ δὲ μετὰ τὴν κωμωδίαν ἐτραγῳδῆσεν ἤδη). When Pyrocles retired to the cave, Gynecia was joyful

(III. 373), "holding her selfe assured that this was but a prologue to the play [Pyrocles] had promised." Earlier (III. 354) when she found him cold, she threatened: "Trust to it hard hearted Tygre, I will not be the only Actor of this Tragedie: since I must fall, I will presse down some others with my ruines." And later (IV. 413), when Basilius after drinking the potion has fallen apparently dead, Gynecia, contemplating her own approaching death, exclaims: "O Zelmane . . . there is a faire stage prepared for thee, to see the tragicall end of thy hated lover."

Fortune not only brings about tragedy and comedy; it is her special function to contrive those bizarre situations and engineer those sudden turns, which being "contrary to expectation," produce paradox, antithesis, and oxymoron in style.<sup>35</sup> Musidorus, about to be put to death by the King of Phrygia, is saved by Pyrocles, who places in his hand the very sword that was to have cut off his head! The two Princes clear the scaffold; rioting ensues among the soldiers; the friends of liberty rise, overpower the guard, take the city, and choose Musidorus King! (II. viii, 138) "whom foorthwith they lifted up, Fortune (I thinke) smiling at her worke therein, that a scaffold of execution should grow a scaffold of coronation."<sup>36</sup> Here are the usual in-

<sup>35</sup> ἡ τὰ παράδοξα καὶ τὰ ἀδόκητα φιλοῦσα ἐργάζεσθαι τύχη. Aelian, "Var. Hist.," XIII. 33.

<sup>36</sup> In Iamblichus's "Babylonica," xxii, Rhodanes, about to be crucified by order of King Garmus, is released, and becomes King in Garmus's place. Possibly Sidney saw a



gredients,—in the situation a sharp *peripeteia* wrought by Fortune, in the style a corresponding antithesis. Or, Philoclea runs away from the lion; Pyrocles having already killed the lion runs after her to present her the head; Gynecia runs after Zelmane:—a bizarre situation (I. xix, 82). “So that it was a new sight, Fortune had prepared to those woods, to see these great personages thus runne one after the other” (cf. A. T., II. xiv, *γίνεται τὸ θέαμα καινόν*). Or, Amphialus having mortally wounded Parthenia disguised as the Knight of the Tomb (III. xvi, 310), “was astonished with grieve . . ., detesting his fortune, that made him vnfortunate in victory.” Or again, Philoclea is on her way to plead to Zelmane the suit of Basilius, when she would much rather speak for herself (II. xvii, 176): “Well she sawe her father was growen her adverse partie, and yet her fortune such, as she must fauour her Riual; and the fortune of that fortune such, as neither that did hurt her, nor any contrarie meane helpe her.” In all these cases, as in others, the substance moulds the form; the event itself containing contradictory elements which express themselves in verbal opposition.

A number of these antithetical passages are direct imitations of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius. The opening of the “Arcadia”—the description of the shipwreck—at once strikes the note of Greek Romance. The shepherds and Musidorus sailing out to the wreck (I. i, 4v.)

Ms. of Photius’s “Bibliotheca,” which gives a summary of Iamblichus’s romance. Photius was not printed until 1601.

"saw a sight full of piteous strangeness: a ship . . . part broken, part burned, part drowned . . . About it floted great store of very rich thinges . . . and *amidst the precious things were a number of dead bodies*, which likewise did not onely testifie both elements [viz., fire's and water's] violence, but that the chiefe violence was growen of humane inhumanitie . . . in summe, a defeate, where *the conquered kept both field and spoile; a shipwreck without storme or ill footing; and a waste of fire in the midst of water.*" The scene of dead men as sole possessors of rich spoil is also Heliodorus's opening scene (*Æth.*, I. i; V. xxix; U 148); the strange wreck is closely akin to Gorgias's purple patch, imitated by Achilles Tatius (*A. T.*, IV. xiv) among many others (*ante*, p. 218 ff.); and the "fire and water" combination is from Achilles Tatius's Sicilian spring (*A. T.*, II. xiv). When Sidney returns to this same shipwreck (*Arc.*, II. xxiv, 211), he again gets his *motifs* from Greek Romance. The captain having been commissioned by Plexirtus to murder the Princes, a fight occurs between the mariners and their own passengers, as in *A. T.*, II. iii—"a strange new kind of sea-fight," Achilles Tatius calls it). As in Achilles Tatius, so in Sidney, there is a conflict for the possession of the boats (*Arc.*, II. xxiv, 210v.-211): "The most part . . . leapt into the boate, which was fast to the ship: but while they that were first, were cutting of the rope that tied it, others came leaping in, so disorderly that they drowned both the boate, and themselves." And meanwhile the

ship takes fire (*ibid.*, 211): "Truely it was a *straunge and ougly sight* to see so huge a *fire . . . in the Sea.*" (Fire and water again.)

Another purple patch from Heliodorus's opening scene Sidney has sewed upon Clinias's account of the Arcadian insurrection. Celebrating the king's birthday, the populace got drunk and quarrelsome (Arc., II. xxvii, 223-223v.): "Thus was their *banquette turned to a battaile, their winie mirthes to bloudie rages . . .* They neuer weyed how to arme thēselues, but *tooke up every-thing for a weapon, that furie offered to their handes . . .* some caught hold of spittes (things seruiceable for life) to be the instruments of death. And there was some such *one, who held the same pot wherein he drank to your health, to use it . . . to your mischiefe.*" The italicized particulars are taken almost *verbatim* from Æth., I. i (U 9-10): ". . . the tables were furnished with delicate dishes, some whereof laie in the handes of those that were slaine, *being in steede of weapons . . .* Besides, the cuppes were overthrowen, and fell out of the handes, either of them that dranke, or those, who had insteade of stones used them. For *that soudaine mischiefe wrought newe devises, and taught them in steade of weapons to use their pottes . . .* bruining bloude with wine, joyning *battaile with banketting.*" These verbal parallels tend to show that, though Sidney may have used the original Greek, he also had before him the translation by Underdowne.

Musidorus apostrophizes the letter he is about to hand to Pamela (II. v, 123v.): "Therefore



*mourne boldly*, my Inke; for while she looks upon you, your blacknes wil shine: *crie out boldly*, my *Lamētatiō*; for while she reads you, your *cries* will be *musicke*." The original may be either A. T., III. x: τὸν θρήνον ἐξορχήσομαι, κτλ. or Æth., VI. viii: ἄσωμεν θρήνους καὶ γόους ὑπορχησώμεθα. U. 162-3: "Let us sing tears . . . and dance lamentations." Handing her this letter (*ibid.*, 124) "hee went away as if he had beene but the coffin that carried himselfe to his sepulcher." This is evidently part of the long train that follows Gorgias's γῦπες ἔμψυχοι ταφοὶ (*ante*, p. 220). The captors of Musidorus and Pamela have not heard the news that the king is dead. Returning with their captives (IV. 432) they are met by a troop of horsemen "marvelling who they were that in such a general *mourning*, durst sing *joyfull tunes*, and in so publique a ruine weare the lawrell token of victory [cf. Æth., VI. viii, and A. T., III, x, as above, for antithesis of mourning and rejoicing]. And that which seemed strangest, they might see two among them *unarmed like prisoners*, but *riding like Captaines*." Heliodorus furnishes this last antithesis (Æth., I. iv). Thyamis having captured Theagenes and Chariclea treats them with deference (U 13-14): "hee, who was their maister, waited upon them, and he who tooke them prysoners, was content to serve them." Sidney uses it again when Gynecia has difficulty in persuading the shepherds to make her their prisoner for the supposed murder of the King (IV. 414). They hesitated "till she was faine to lead them, with

*a very strange spectacle*, either that a Princesses should be in the hands of shepherds, or a *prisoner should direct her guardians*."

Musidorus seeing Pyrocles taken by pirates exclaims (I. i, 5v.): "Alas . . . deere *Pyrocles shall that bodie of thine be enchayned?* shall those victorious handes of thine be commaunded to base offices? *Shall vertue become a slave to those that be slaves to viciousness?*" The original may be either Æth., V. ii; U 126: "Art thou [Theagenes] . . . bounde, which has a free minde . . .?" (cf. also Æth., I. xxix; II. iv), or A. T., III. xvi: "Shalt thou (Leucippe) pure as thou art, be food for the most impure?" Sidney employs it again. Embarrassed by the peculiar constraints of his position towards the royal family, Pyrocles exclaims (II. xvi, 173): "Alas, incomparable *Philoclea*, thou ever seest me, but dost never see me as I am;; thou hearest willingly all that I dare say, and I dare not say that which were most fit for thee to heare. Alas, whoever but I was *imprisoned in libertie*, and *banished being still present?*" The last antithesis is from Achilles Tatius. The gnat in the fable (A. T., II. xxii): *παρὼν οὐ πάρεμι*; Clitophon's letter (A. T., V. xx): *σὲ παρούσαν ὥς ἀποδημοῦσαν ὁρῶ*. Musidorus blames the storm for not ending his life, but letting him live to suffer the pains of love (Arc., II. iii, 109): "O cruell winds in your unconsiderate rages, why either beganne you this furie, or why did you not end it in his end? But your cruelty was such, as you would spare his life for many deathfull torments." In the same

way Clitophon (A. T., III. x), apostrophizing the sea, exclaims: "I blame your kindness; in saving us you have rather killed us."

Achilles Tatius's mannerism of attributing mixed or conflicting emotions, especially as shown by persons represented in a painting (A. T., III. vii, viii; V. iii) gives Sidney the antithesis he needs for his description of the pictures in Kalander's garden house (Arc., I. iii, 10): "There was *Diana* when *Actaeon* sawe her bathing, in whose cheekes the painter had set such a colour, as was *mixt* betweene *shame* and *disdaine*: & one of her foolish Nymphes, who, *weeping* and withal *lowring*, one might see the workman meant to set forth *teares* of *anger*." Again (Arc., I. i, 2): Urania "because of her parting [bore] much sorrow in her eyes, the lightsomenes whereof had yet so natural a cherefulnesse, as it made even *sorrow* seem to *smile*." To this last passage the exact parallel is in A. T., VI. vii: τὰ δὲ δάκρυα . . . γελᾷ.

In Clitophon's garden (A. T., I. xv) "the tree was a support to the vine, and the vine was a garland to the tree." In Kalander's garden (Arc., I. iii., 9v.) there were beds of flowers under the trees, so that "the trees were to them a Pavilion, and they to the trees a mosaical floore." Leucippe singing the praises of the rose (A. T., II. i) calls it "the blush of the meadow." Sidney in describing the meadow where the shepherds' games were to be held (Arc., I. xix, 81) says "the Roses added such a ruddy shew unto it, as though the field were bashfull of his owne beautie."



Sidney's paraphrase here of the one word "blush" into a conceit about the meadow's bashfulness, is typical of the freedom with which he treats his borrowings. In the foregoing examples it can hardly have escaped notice that he frequently imbeds the borrowed antithesis among antitheses of his own conceived in the same spirit. Elsewhere he shows abundantly that he has learned the trick; so that he infuses into the whole "Arcadia" a subtle flavor of Greek Romance, often without borrowing any particular passage. For example, Pyrocles and Musidorus nobly contend (II. viii, 136) as to which shall die to save the other.<sup>37</sup> At length, "in this notable contention, (where *the conquest must be the conquerors destruction, and safetie the punishment of the conquered*), Musidorus preuayled." Again, in the battle between Amphialus and the royal army, many horses were killed (II. vii, 268): "Some lay uppon their Lordes, and *in death* had the honour *to be borne by them*, whõ *in life they had borne*. The earth it selfe (*woont to be a buriall of men*) was now (as it were) *buried with men*: so was the face thereof hidden with dead bodies." Again, Pyrocles complains (II. i, 102v.): "To her whom I would be knowne to [viz. Philoclea] I liue in darknesse: and to her [viz. Gynecia] am revealed, from whom I would be most secreat." Basilius in the course of the

<sup>37</sup> The same *motif* again in the trial scene (V. 480-481). It is not in the Greek Romances preserved to us, but came to Sidney, perhaps, from Boccaccio's Tito and Gisippo (Dec., X. 8) and so, mediately, through the "Legend of Two Friends," from a lost Greek Romance. (Cf. *ante*, p. 258 ff.)

siege of Amphialus's castle digs trenches leading to forts (III. xi, 285) "in such sort, as it was a prettie consideration in the discipline of warre, to see *building* used for the *instrument of ruine*, and the *assayler entrenched* as if he were *besieged*." The remnant of the rebels having taken Musidorus with Pamela (IV. 428), "All resolved to kill him, but now onely considering what maner of terrible death they should inuent for him. Thus was a while the *agreement of his slaying* broken by *disagreement of the maner of it*; and *extremity of cruelty* grew for a time to be *the stop of cruelty*." When Musidorus has been revived by the shepherds (I. i, 3v.) he tries to throw himself into the sea again in order not to survive Pyrocles: "—a *strange sight* to the shepherds, to whom it seemed that, before, *being in appearance dead* had yet *saved his life*, and now, *comming to his life* shoulde be a *cause to procure his death*."

The great frequency of such passages<sup>38</sup> produces, as has been said, an effect of rhetorical strain throughout, and in the reader's total impression quite eclipses the other characteristics of Sidney's style. Once more the reader receives the impression that Sidney has learned the very accent of Greek Romance; once more he feels that Sidney has deliberately written Greek Romance in English.

<sup>38</sup> Others of the same sort: I. ii, 7; I. iii, 10v.; I. vi, 27-27v.; I. vii, 30v.; I. x, 42v.; I. xvi, 70; II. iv, 116v.; II. xiii, 160; II. xxv, 213-213v.; III. viii, 269v.; III. xviii, 315-315v. ("a braue raggednesse, and a riche povertie . . . a disgraced handsomnesse, and a new oldnes"), III. 379, V. 450-1.

And this is the abiding impression. The separate conclusions reached upon analysis of the "Arcadia" into its elements are confirmed upon a retrospect of the whole. Its material in plot and character, however diffuse and various, is held firmly within the Heliodorean frame; its descriptive matter is strongly flavored with the Greek Romance *ἐκφρασις*; its structure has been deliberately recast in the mould of Heliodorus; its style speaks with the voice of the Greek Romancers. Sidney has domesticated the *genre*.

#### ADDITIONAL NOTES

(To pp. 312, 313) Heliodorus's story of Calasiris and his sons looks like a degenerate version of the myth of Oedipus, a version with a happy ending as far as the sons are concerned. If Calasiris is Oedipus travestied, we have a remarkable tradition, from Sophocles or earlier, through Heliodorus and Sidney, to Shakespeare. Not without deliberate intent, we feel, did Shakespeare choose this descendant of the story of Oedipus as a foil to the story of that other Oedipus, King Lear.

(To p. 360) The antithesis "Banquet turns to Battle" also seems to be the subject of a remarkable tradition. Heliodorus's immediate source may well have been Ovid (*Met.* XII. 222-244), who also emphasizes the mingling of blood with wine, and the use of the wine-jars as missiles. Now it was at the wedding of Pirithous and Hippodamia that this sudden turn occurred, the misconduct of the Centaurs changing the feast into a fight. It is thus suggested that the antithesis and its concomitant details are conventions associated with the treatment of the combat between the Centaurs and the Lapithae; and, sure enough, in the representation of this combat on the metopes of the Parthenon, a Centaur appears in the act of hurling a wine-jar. We may reasonably suppose that the *motif* was often repeated in subsequent sculpture, gem-engraving, vase-painting, or wall-painting, if not in Alexandrian pictorial poetry. Thus it would reach Ovid, and, through him, Heliodorus, Sidney, and Sir Walter Scott ("Ivanhoe," ch. xli). Once more, the tradition handed on to modern times by Greek Romance dates back to a period of pure classicism.



## CHAPTER III

ROBERT GREENE

The popular request for rapid work from Greene's pen, and the versatility of his own imitative talent for story-telling, sent him to many sources and subjected him to many influences. One of the most widely-read of the writers of his time, he was always in the fashion of the moment. He would, as Nash tells us,<sup>1</sup> "yark up" a pamphlet "in a night and a day" to meet a publisher's demand for a "best seller"; and he was nothing if not up to date. "Euphues" appeared in 1578 and '79, and in 1580 Greene was ready with "Mamillia" (licensed 1580; published 1583), which out-Euphuizes "Euphues." Thenceforth the Euphuistic strain ran through all his books with greater or less strength, till he excluded it abruptly and consciously from his "Conny Catching" series and from "The Black Bookes Messenger." His love of stylistic tinsel enabled him to appropriate easily the characteristics of Euphuism, and sometimes, in "Carde of Fancie," for instance, to add absurdities of his own. As with "Euphues," so with Sidney's "Arcadia." By the time the "Arcadia" in manuscript had made its way out of Sidney's own court circle into the Universities and the City

<sup>1</sup>"Foure Letters Confuted," Works, ed. Grosart, II. 221; ed. McKerrow, I. 287.

(that is, into the circle of Greene's readers) and had created a demand for its like, Greene was prepared to meet the demand. "Menaphon," published 1589, and "Philomela," published 1592, but, he says (Epistle Dedicatory, p. 109), "written long since," are his chief tributes to its popularity; the first satisfying the demand raised by the manuscript, the second that raised by the first edition (1590). Apart from the influence of the "Arcadia," Greene's own predilection for lowly and rural life would have sufficed to make him fall in with the pastoral taste of his time; but his natural tendency toward pastoral was strengthened by Sidney's work, and, like Sidney, he used his pastoral not as an independent tale, but either as an ornament to some inclusive story or or as a solvent for the complexities and a remedy for the troubles which afflict his personages in city or court. This scene of courtly people in the country belongs to the mediaeval stock of literary material quite as much as to that of the Renaissance; and is one of many mediaeval *motifs* in Greene. His virtuous shepherdess sends her highborn wooers about their business like any *pastorella*;<sup>2</sup> into a story of Roman times he inserts the mediaeval rivalry of Knight and Clerk;<sup>3</sup> several "situations" he takes from "Huon of Bordeaux";<sup>4</sup> now and again he uses the con-

<sup>2</sup> "Francescos Fortunes" (VIII), 184 ff, esp. 193-6: The Host's Tale.

<sup>3</sup> "Tullies Loue" (VII).

<sup>4</sup> "Arbasto" (III): Captor's daughter falls in love with captive and releases him. "Carde of Fancie" (IV): Captive released fights gigantic enemy of captor, and gains captor's daughter to wife.

ventional Vision-form of the Middle Ages,<sup>5</sup> once together with the usual allegory of a garden, its variety of trees and birds, and Dame Venus standing there;<sup>6</sup> but usually in combination with a *débat*.<sup>7</sup> So Greene ministered to the lingering mediaeval taste of Elizabethan readers. And here once more he was on common ground between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: for, regarded as a social diversion, the *débat* becomes the *dubbio*. The popularity of this Italian form was enhanced by the popularity of "Euphues," which made such large use of it; and Greene employed it, too, but as a frame for narrative, which, after all, is his specialty. Many of his stories are told in social gatherings to illustrate some point in morals or love raised in a *dubbio* or dialogue.<sup>8</sup> He thus gave an edifying frame to *novelle* which are only incidentally edifying in themselves. The demand of Puritanism for stories that should be edifying in themselves he satisfied by turning into *novella*-form the parable of the Prodigal Son,<sup>9</sup> and the apocryphal book of Susanna—the latter twice.<sup>10</sup> His readers, in fact, must have the *novella*, which by

<sup>5</sup> "Quip for an Vpstart Courtier" (XI); "Greenes Vision" (XII); "Orpharion" (XII); "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 74-6 (Allegorical Dream).

<sup>6</sup> "Mamillia" (II), 275.

<sup>7</sup> So in all the cases cited in notes 4 and 5 (*supra*). Greene uses a *débat* without a vision, in "Debate between Folly and Love" (IV), and "Planetomachia" (V).

<sup>8</sup> "Morando" (III); "Censure" (VI); "Penelopes Web" (V); "Perimedes" (VII); "Mourning Garment" (IX); "Farewell to Folly" (IX); and elsewhere.

<sup>9</sup> "Mourning Garment" (IX).

<sup>10</sup> "Mirrour of Modestie" (III); "Francescos Fortunes" (VIII).



means of its single "situation," its emphasis upon what happened, its want of profound characterization, its want of complication in plot, and its simple setting, made a broad popular appeal. It is for these same reasons that the *novella* fell within Greene's powers. He, too, lacked "la longue haleine"; he could never manage a plot of any considerable length or complication; his characterization was nearly always shallow and unmotivated; and he was almost wholly destitute of the feeling for "background." Accordingly, Italian *novelle* were among his chief sources; and in time he learned from them how to make very good *novelle* of his own.<sup>11</sup>

Meanwhile he borrowed *novelle*, mainly from Boccaccio; and it is interesting to observe *what* he borrowed. Not counting allusions and minor resemblances, there are two tales which Greene took over bodily from the Decameron, with slight changes; and a well-rounded incident, complete in itself, which he took from a third tale and embodied as an incident in a story of his own.<sup>11a</sup> These, as far as I am aware, are his only borrowings from the Decameron, and every one of these is, in all probability, like the plot of "Euphues," based upon some lost Greek Romance.

The first is Decam., II. 6, which Greene used as the first story in "Perimedes" (VII.) 23-42. The following is a summary of his version.

<sup>11</sup> E. g., *Chaucer's* story of Tomkins and Kate, in "Greenes Vision" (XII), and *Roberto's* story of the Farmer Bridegroom, in "Groats worth" (XII).

<sup>11a</sup> Koeppel, pp. 52-54.

Mariana is the wife of Prestines, formerly governor of Tyre, but now the prisoner of Voltarus, King of Sidon. Escaping from her husband's enemy, she is wrecked on the shore of Decapolis, while her sons are carried off by pirates. She lives in a cave, whither chance brings the Despot of Decapolis and his wife. She tells her story and is taken to live with them. The sons and their nurse are sold by the pirates to Lamoraq, governor of Japhet and brother to the Despot of Decapolis. The elder escapes, comes at length to Decapolis, enters the Despot's service, and gets his daughter with child. Thrown into prison, he hears that Voltarus is being attacked, and exclaims upon his hard fate in not being able to help against his father's enemy. The jailor overhears him and gets his story, which he tells to the Despot. Upon confirmation of the story the young people are married; the younger son, sent for from Japhet, is likewise married to the daughter of the Governor; and Voltarus having been overthrown and Prestines restored, his wife and his sons and their wives rejoin him at Tyre.

This is, substantially, Boccaccio's story of "Madonna Beritola Caracciola, moglie di Arrighetto Capece (chi sotto il rè Manfredi fu stato governatore di Sicilia mà fu fatto prigioniere dal rè Carlo)." It is scarcely necessary to point to the familiar marks of Greek Romance. In the original there is an additional *motif*, which looks like a tortured Byzantine imitation of "Daphnis and Chloe." In her loneliness on the desert shore, Madonna Beritola *finds two new-born kids, which she nurses*. The Governor (Greene's Despot) and his wife come to *hunt*; and *his dogs chase the kids, who flee to their foster-mother*

and thus lead to her rescue. This is apparently an inversion and a perversion of Longus's *motifs*: "she-goat gives suck to human infant, and by retiring to place where infant lies, brings about its rescue; goats are chased by hounds." Greene omits it, merely saying that when Mariana was found, she had with her a fawn which she had nursed up; but he leaves all the other evidences that the tale is based on Greek Romance. Perhaps an instinctive feeling that it is in this *genre* makes him change its *locus* to Tyre and Sidon, etc., and reunite the parents and the two newly married couples at Tyre, in reminiscence of the end of "Clitophon and Leucippe." That Boccaccio likewise classified the tale correctly is shown by his placing it in the Second Day, among stories of evil Fortune turning to good, and by his introducing it individually with remarks upon the beneficial effect of hearing tales about the vicissitudes of Fortune. Landau ("Quellen," p. 296) after mentioning the stock *motifs* of the Greek Romances, adds "mit denen [d. h. mit den griechischen Romanen] Boccaccio's Novellen von den drei Schwestern und ihren Liebhabern (IV. 3), von Pietro Boccamazza (V. 3) and von der Familie Capece (II. 6) verwandt sind."

Greene's next borrowing from Boccaccio is the Second Tale in "Perimedes" (VII.), 47-55:

On the island of Lipari, Constance and Alcimedes fall in love, but cannot wed because of his poverty. Desperately resolved to make his fortune, he becomes a corsair, but is taken by the Saracens and carried to Tunis. Rumor reports that he has been drowned.



Constance seeking death in like manner sets herself adrift in a small boat, but is wafted to the Barbary Coast, and makes her way in time to the city where, unknown to her, her lover is confined. Now a rebellious nobleman lays claim to the kingdom of Tunis, and Alcimedes in prison offers the King his services as general. These are accepted, and he defeats the rebel and is made a Duke. When the fame of this stroke of fortune brings Constance the news that he is alive, she discovers herself to him, and they are married.

This, with unimportant changes, is Boccaccio's tale of Martuccio Gomito and Gostanza (Decam., V. 2). The story has a mediaeval tinge overlying its probable Greek origin; and the *motif* "released prisoner assists his captor against an enemy," is found in "Huon of Bordeaux," as well as in the "Babylonica" of Iamblichus (ch. XX).<sup>12</sup> The stories of the Fifth Day, like those of the Second, concern lovers who have met good fortune after ill; and Fortune is active throughout this tale.

The flavor of Greek Romance is strongest, perhaps, in the story of which Greene borrows the first incident—the story of Cimone and Efigenia (Decam., V. 1):

Cimone, a clownish youth of Cyprus, beholding Efigenia asleep on the grass, is by love of her transformed into an accomplished gentleman. As she is betrothed to a Rhodian, Cimone cannot gain her

<sup>12</sup> Greene uses it again in "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 164, 166, 191. Neither Greene nor Boccaccio could have taken it from Iamblichus (see table, *ante*, p. 8 ff.), unless, as is very unlikely, they saw a Ms. of Photius.

hand by peaceful means. When she is sailing to be married in Rhodes, he attacks her ship, steals her away, and after several changes of Fortune (which constitute the bulk of the story), marries her.

Boccaccio says that the story is "sì come noi nelle antiche istorie de' Cipriani abbiamo già letto"; and Rohde (pp. 538-542) plausibly conjectures that it comes from a lost Greek Romance, perhaps called the "Cypriaca." In any case it bears the unmistakable stamp of its kind; and we actually possess, in the episode of Callisthenes and Calligone (A. T., II. xviii; VIII. xvii), the same combination—though in reverse order—of transformation by love with piratical abduction of the beloved. Greene uses only the first of these motifs—transformation by love<sup>13</sup> for his episode of Fabius and Terentia, in "Tullies Loue" (VII.), 185-9; and he accounts for Fabius's change of character by a literal translation of Boccaccio's corresponding account of Cimone's change: "Ye high vertues of the heauens infused into this noble breast, were imprisoned by ye enuious wrath of Fortune, within some narrowe corner of his heart, whose bandes went asunder by loue, as a Lord to[o] mightie for fortune." Here Love conquers envious Fortune, but in the remainder of the story Fortune is said to be, and is, busy at every turn.

Possibly unconscious of what he was choosing, Greene has thus chosen from the Decameron

<sup>13</sup> He has used it again in "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 48-49. He alludes by name to "Boccaccio" and his story of "Chimon" in "Morando" (III), 91.

only Greek Romance material, and has used it almost exactly as he found it. Indeed, his talent in general has a distinct affinity to Greek Romance. His unresisted tendency towards the pastoral lays him open to the influence of "Daphnis and Chloe." His peculiar combination of a love of pure plot,—of events for the sake of events, regardless of their spring in character and of their reaction upon character—his combination of such a love of plot with a weak sense of motive and causal nexus, strongly inclines him to employ *Fortune* as the mover of his plot. His pleasure in gaudy stylistic ornament exposes him to the infection not only of Euphuism, but of the rhetorical diseases inherent in the style of Achilles Tatius. Moreover, from the great spectacular *ensemble* scenes so frequent in Heliodorus, he learns how to turn his rhetoric to account, in long harangues and arguments, and in analysis of the emotions and facial expressions of the spectators. So that, amid Greene's variety of sources, it would be rather strange if he had *not* drawn upon Greek Romance.

His indebtedness is primary as well as secondary. As has been seen, Achilles Tatius was accessible to him in Latin, Italian, and French translations, while Heliodorus and Longus may fairly be said to have become current English fiction during the time of his literary activity (1580–1592). In fact, as with "Euphues" and the "Arcadia," so with the Greek Romances, Greene's versatility and timeliness serve him well. "Daphnis and Chloe" in Day's version, and the



"Æthiopica" in Underdowne's second or third edition, come out in 1587; and in 1588, Greene is on the spot with his best known story, "Pandosto" ("Dorastus and Fawnia") which is full of matter from both of them, and which draws somewhat upon Achilles Tatius as well. "Pandosto" thus possesses a two-fold interest—first, and chiefly, as the main source of "The Winter's Tale"; secondly, as exhibiting with the greatest fulness the influence of the Greek Romances upon Greene. Under both these aspects it will later be treated in detail, together with "Menaphon," each integrally as well as topically; for each is a work whose various topics and sources should be assembled in order that justice may be done to the whole. Evidence of the influence of the Greek Romances upon Greene's other works will be arranged not according to the works in which it may occur, but partly according to its contents, that is, topically (as in the treatment of the Greek Romances themselves in Part First of the present study), and partly according to its sources among the Greek Romances.

Despite Greene's leaning toward the pastoral, and fondness for pathetic ensemble-scenes, it is Achilles Tatius who affects him at the largest number of points, and is his first and latest love. Greene is particularly predisposed to take what Achilles Tatius can give. As a rhetorician, he shares the Renaissance fondness for antithesis and paradox. His only method of characterization is an antithetical soliloquy, dialogue, or letter by his personages, or antithetical comment by

himself. He is not, of course, interested in character, but such characterization as he does attempt resolves itself thus into an analysis of "conflicting emotions."<sup>14</sup> The mania for antithesis vitiates his "psychology" by breaking up character into striving opposites. It vitiates both his style and the speech of his personages by turning both into a Euphuistic balancing of conceits and arguments. Wit and Will; Virtue and Fortune; Nature and Fortune; Nature and Necessity; Fancy and the Fates; Love and Destiny; Nature and Nurture; Desire and Despair; Beauty and Bounty; Beauty and Virtue; the Sore and the Salve; Outward Favor and Inward Valor; Reason and Passion; Bliss and Bale; Hand and Heart; Weal and Woe; Excellence, not Birth; Wit before Wealth; Mirth and Mourning; Love and Law;—these and a hundred other alliterative couples are forever see-sawing through his pages.<sup>15</sup> Like Achilles Tatius, he several times employs the device of *rivalry*,<sup>16</sup> he calls attention to a surprising event by means of the familiar *παρὰ δόξαν*<sup>17</sup>; and he gives to his "unnatural

<sup>14</sup> Conflicting Emotions: "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 55, 180, 190; "Alcida" (IX), 94 (Hope vs. Fear); "Philomela" (XI), 203, and many other passages.

<sup>15</sup> "Mamillia" (II), 17, 19, 79, 91, 134, 140; "Francescos Fortunes" (VIII), 223, 227, 228; "Mourning Garment" (IX), 131; "Farewell" (IX), 250; "Coosnage" (X), 6-7; "Blacke Bookes Messenger" (XI), 35: some passages on Wit and Will alone. On this *cliché*, see Mr. Sidney Lee's "Life of Shakspeare," p. 416 ff.

<sup>16</sup> "Tullies Love" (VII), 106; "Mourning Garment" (IX), 127; "Farewell" (IX), 256.

<sup>17</sup> "Censure" (VI), 194: "Comming thither, *contrary to his expectation* hee found that Time the mother of mutabilitie, had made a strange metamorphosis."

natural philosophy" the peculiar animistic turn which has been observed in Achilles Tatius,<sup>18</sup> and which is not present in Lyly. It is difficult, too, to resist the feeling—though only a detailed examination of the styles in question can determine its correctness—that Greene's *homeophony* is distinctly more elaborate than Lyly's, and may have had another model besides "Euphues." Such passages as the following seem to push "transverse" alliteration further than Lyly's furthest reach, and to use certain alliterative and assonantal "stanza-forms" or "rhyming schemes," so to speak, which he did not attempt.

"Carde of Fancie" (IV.), 66: "Wert thou of late a *defier of Venus*, and art thou now a *defender of vanitie?*" (de f er of vn  
de f er of vn).

*ib.*, 92. "not his *vading riches*, but his *renowned vertues*." (n t v d r ch s; t r n d v r ch s)

*ib.*, 46. "As the *ioye of her presence* procureth my *delight*, so the *annoie of her absence* breedeth my *despight*."

"Planetomachia" (V.) 73: "No, hee had rather *prevent* her with *untimely death* then *pretend* such an *unlikely demande* :

(pre en un ī ly dē  
pre en un ī ly dē)

he would sooner consent to *payn her* with some *hellish miserie* then *place her* in such a *hapless*

<sup>18</sup> "Arbasto" (III), 237. Doralicia's froward answer to Arbasto's letter: "As by instinct of nature there is a secrete hate between the vine and the cabash, between the boxe and the goord, and between the iron and ye Theamides, so in my mind I feel a secret grudge between Arbasto and Doralicia." Cf. A. T., I. xvii, xviii; *ante*, p. 210.



marriage." (p ā her sŭ h l m r  
p ā her sŭ h l m r).

The resemblance to *Antike Kunstprosa* may be only accidental; Greene could not have seen the original Greek of Achilles Tatius in print, and it is unlikely that he saw it in Ms. I give the impression as such.

Certainly not accidental, however, is the fact that Greene shares with Achilles Tatius the same faults in narrative technique. "Arbasto" consists of a "frame-tale" about the narrator's shipwreck, and an inner tale—really the substance of the whole—told by Arbasto to the narrator. Both are related in the first person. But this plan is violated, first by Arbasto's report of the feelings and soliloquies of other persons (III. 195-8, 215-217, 217, 223-226, 229, 245-248); next by his lapses into the third person when he speaks of himself (227); finally by the failure of the author, the supposed narrator of the frame-tale, to recur to it when Arbasto's story is done. He does not "envelop" Arbasto's story at the end, as he does at the beginning, by resuming the account of himself. As will shortly appear,<sup>19</sup> the resemblance to "Clitophon and Leucippe"<sup>20</sup> is more than accidental. Finally, Greene the rhetorician never spares his readers a speech if he can help it. In "Carde of Fancie" (IV.) the two hostile kings harangue their respective troops at length (174-6). In "Penelopes Web" (V.), 81, "Egistus Oration to the Lords of

<sup>19</sup> *Post*, p. 393.

<sup>20</sup> *Ante*, p. 199.

Egypt" is thrown into prominence by a title of its own. In "Censure" (VI.), 224, "Cleophanes Oration to the Citizens" persuades them to admit besiegers to their city; (228-9) Cimbriana exhorts her ladies to revenge; (257-8) Frontinus harangues his troops; (273) Roxander pacifies the people "with this briefe Oration"; and (276) one of the Senators seeing the soldiers careless and discouraged, "calling them all into the market made them this oration." In "Perimedes" (VII.), 52-3, Alcimedes repeats to the King of Barbary's troops the speech of Frontinus. In "Tullies Love" (VII.) there is a tremendous talking-match, which ends with (213) "Tullies Oration to the Senate." In "Farewell" (IX.), 345, Rustico in a speech rouses the citizens against their besotted Duke. In "Philomela" (XI.) there are no less than three trial scenes (164 ff., 186 ff. and 203 ff.), all adorned with "Orations." All things, it would seem, are possible to *Eloquentia*. Greene's fondness for speechmaking he shares with his time, but he shares it too with Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius.

The occasion for all this *Eloquentia*, the paradoxical or antithetical situation which gives rhetoric its opportunity, is by Greene, as by Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, often attributed to Fortune, or as by Longus, to Fortune and Love. "Fortune loves to bring about things unexpected and things contrary to expectation,"<sup>21</sup> and when Greene speaks of her he tends naturally toward antithesis and oxymoron, balance and alliteration.

<sup>21</sup> Aelian, "Var. Hist.," XIII. 33 (quoted *ante*, p. 357, n. 35.)

"O Fortune, how constant art thou in thy inconstancie?"<sup>22</sup> In "Censure" (VI.), 196, Maedyna, the faithless wife of Polymestor, having refused to return to him, his nobles "thought their kinge happy that Fortune by ill fortune had at hazard giuen him such good fortune." Those who are down need fear no fall; but those in high places are especially subject to vicissitude; hence, in "Pandosto" (IV.), 249, Queen Bellaria exclaims to herself: "How unfortunate art thou, because fortunate." In "Carde of Fancie" (IV.), 153, Gwydonius cries: "Who a late so floated in the flouds of felicitie as I, which now by the sinister meanes of frowning Fortune am sowed in the seas of sorrow." And Castania (*ib.*, 182): "Let froward fortune favor whom she please, so I may ioy and safelie inioy my onelie ioy."

Greene's subjection to the concept, nay to the word, "Fortune," far surpasses that of Achilles Tatius. Greene is Fortune's abject slave; he suffers from *lues fortunae*, or *tychomania*, a disease which once having gripped its victim, blinds him to the true course of human affairs, and renders him incapable of ever building more than a *novella*-plot, or depicting a consistent character. Fortune has him in thrall. He attributes to her the plainest effects of a line of causes already begun—effects which are perfectly calculable and which exhibit not the slightest element of chance.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> "Morando" (III), 127-8; again "Penelopes Web" (V), 178.

<sup>23</sup> "Never too Late" (VIII), 101. Francesco in the snares of Infida has been living riotously. "Wallowing thus in



He attributes to her the gifts which, according to a distinction that was one of the commonplaces of mediaeval and Renaissance thought, really came from "Nature."<sup>24</sup> He drags her in at every possible or impossible place, simply as a *cliché*,

the foldes of their owne follies, Fortune . . . dealt thus": Francesco's money gave out! There was no interference by Fortune—nothing but continued causation. In "Disputation" (X), 246, the reformed courtesan says that as a young girl she had many suitors, but "either my fortune or destenie droue me to a worsen ende, *for I refused them all*": an act of human choice. In "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 134, "Fortune . . . brought it to pass" that Orlanio withheld his accustomed tribute, and so occasioned a war. But there was nothing fortuitous about it; it originated in Orlanio's will. In "Planetomachia" (V), 89, Rodento and Pasylla having been betrothed, "Fortune grudging at this happy successe, crossed their sweete and delicious favours with bitter and despairing frowns. For Valdracko (Pasylla's father) . . . began to thinke" that this betrothal gave him an opportunity for vengeance upon the formerly hostile house of Rodento. But Valdracko had promoted the betrothal between his daughter and his enemy's son for that very purpose. Fortune was active only in his accidental finding of the young people's letters, which showed him that they were in love. Valdracko's own motive and agency, not Fortune, brings about the remainder of the tale. In "Philomela" (XI), 155, Philippo's jealous suspicion of his wife is said to be the work of Fortune—and this after Greene has done his best to depict Philippo as suspicious and jealous by nature. In "Arbasto" (III), 222, 231, 245, 252, the hero repeatedly ascribes to Fortune the clear effects of his own duplicity, ingratitude, and folly; the story has for sub-title "the Anatomie of Fortune," and at the beginning we behold Arbasto, now in retirement after his troubles, robed in white satin and crowned with gold, weeping while he gazes upon a "counterfeit of Fortune," his scapegoat.

<sup>24</sup> "Penelope's Web" (V), 227. Ariamenes's eldest son, praising his wife, classifies her excellences as "the gifts of nature" and "the gifts of fortune"—a stereotyped dichotomy. Then, among the gifts of fortune, he places the fact that she is "descended of honourable parentage"—a gift which of all gifts comes by birth, by *natura*.

meaning no more than "condition in life" or "change of affairs" or "difficulties or obstacles to be overcome" or "some reason or other why things happen as they do—some reason which I don't care to take the trouble to find out."<sup>25</sup> This intellectual laziness leads Greene to employ "drag-net" or "blunderbuss" formulae when he wishes to be sure of including the true cause of his event: thus he often couples Fortune with Fate, the Destinies, the Gods, Time, Chance, Providence, Nemesis, Occasion, Opportunity, the Stars, Necessity, Nature and the like, indiscriminately, without even attempting a distinction between their respective agencies.<sup>26</sup> It would be hard to exaggerate the prominence of Fortune as an empty formula throughout the works of Greene. Quite apart from the numerous passages—to be next discussed—where she is a *vera*

<sup>25</sup> It is hardly worth while to classify the passages that exemplify these *clichés*. A few—by no means all—are referred to here. "Mamillia" (II), 61, 236. "Arbasto" (III), 203, 211, 215, 217, 226, 228, 239, 245, 246, "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 112, 28-9, 54-5, 93, 117, 120-1, 124, 141, 144, 153, 182, 183, "Penelope's Web" (V), 151, 168, "Censure" (VI), 192, "Pandosto" (IV), 283, 285, 308.

<sup>26</sup> "Alcida" (IX), 23. "Liuing thus contentedly, and as I thought armed against fortune, in that we foregarded our actions with vertue, the Fates, if there be any, or the destinies, some star or planet in some infortunate and cursed aspect, calculated . . . ill hap to all my daughter's natiuities." "Morando" (III), 119: "Men can neuer purely and simply enjoy the ease of any great prosperitie: but whether it bee Fortune, or the enuie of Destinie, or els the naturall necessitie of earthly things, their ease is allwaies intermingled with evil among the good." "Orpharion" (XII), 14: "Time hath many chaunces, the Fates their Canons tied to opportunity: Fortune her decrees variable, and love, many accidents."

*causa*, and moves the plot or is the subject of a formal disquisition, or of a genuine personification with picturesque attributes; quite apart from these, she appears on nearly every page.<sup>27</sup> Space fails for a fuller exposition of this subject. Any reader who opens Greene's works anywhere can see for himself how nearly Greene's *tychomania* amounts to an obsession.

Apart from these empty or distorted uses of the word or concept "Fortune," there is a much more important and perhaps quite as bulky class of cases where Fortune is really used by Greene's imagination or his intellect. Now his intellect gives the subject a formal discussion—as in "Morando" (III), 127-141, where after dinner several members of the company discourse at length of the ways of Fortune. Now it expresses or hints at plausible relations between Fortune and Fate, Fortune and Providence, Fortune and Justice, Fortune and Nemesis, Fortune and Opportunity, or, in general Fortune and other non-human forces.<sup>28</sup> Now it brings Fortune into rela-

<sup>27</sup> "Farewell" (IX), 256-264: eight pages, Fortune mentioned fifteen times. "Menaphon" 45-52: seven pages, Fortune mentioned twenty times.

<sup>28</sup> "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 147, 184: The Fates or Destinies are opposed to Fortune; she is unfavorable, but they are favorable and stronger and will prevail. *Ib.*, 78: The Destinies are unfavorable, but the Gods favorable. Cf. "D. & C." IV. xxiv, and *ante*, p. 123, n. *Ib.*, 171-2: Fortune, the Destinies, the Fates, even the Gods must yield to justice and human desert. "Pandosto" (IV), 285: "Fortune windeth those threedes which the Destinies spin": assigns to Fortune a position of real power, but subordinate to the Destinies. So "Perimedes" (VII), 24-54. "Fortune, or some contrarie fate aboue fortune" and "Menaphon" (VI), 89: "Where God and fate hath vowed



tion with man by assigning—expressly or impliedly—the varying functions of Fortune and Nature.<sup>29</sup> Now it touches more deeply the rela-

felicities, no adverse fortune may expel prosperities." "Penelope's Web" (V), 150: "Fortune . . . having commission from angry *Neptune* to shew her inconstancy, kept (Ulysses) still from the end of his desires." "Planeto-machia" (V), 106: The eagle drops Rhodope's shoe into the lap of Psammetichus, "not by chance, but by some infortunate and dismall destiny"; Aelian ("Var. Hist.," XIII, 33) expressly attributes it to Fortune. "Penelope's Web" (V), 190: Fortune as Nemesis: "Thoughtes about measure are either cut short by tyme or fortune." But on the other hand, "Censure" (VI), 172: "Men determine, but the Gods dispose: humane actions are oft measured by will, but the censures from above are iust and peremptorie: Fortune is a goddess but hath no priviledge in punishing of faultes." Fortune controls Occasion or Opportunity: "Censure" (VI), 185, 254; "Perimedes" (VII), 38; "Tullies Love" (VII), 113.

<sup>29</sup> Meaning by "Nature" all those powers that make the human estate, especially at birth, but to a less degree throughout life, exclusive of "environment." "Environment" is the province of Fortune. "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 107: "In despite of Fortune, Nature hath given you a loving heart." "Morando" (III), 135: Hannibal's hatred of the Romans was "nothing diminished through olde age, neither yet through the alteration of his estate and fortune, because the nature and qualities of manners (viz. moral qualities) continueth alwaies." "Mamillia" (II), 14: After enumerating Gonzaga's advantages of birth and station: "And yet for all these golden giftes of Nature, he was more bound vnto Fortune, which had bestowed vpon him one only daughter." But in "Censure" (IX), 211, it is Nature that bestows the daughter. In "Mourning Garment" (IX), 127, 128, Nature and Fortune vie with each other to confer gifts. "Farewell" (IX), 237: Farnese's daughters "were beholding to Nature for beauty, to Fortune for wealth, and to the Gods for Wisdom and vertue." "Vision" (XII), 260: "Fayre Mistresse, whom Fortune hath made as miserable, as Nature hath formed beautifull. . . . I praise Nature for her workmanship, [and] accuse Fortune for her tyrannie." Other passages: "Francesco's Fortunes" (VIII), 195; "Farewell" (IX), 256;

tions between human character or personality on the one hand and the forces of environment on the other, by way of the formula—ancient but informed by the Renaissance with new vitality—of Fortune and Virtue.<sup>30</sup> Now his imagination

"Mamillia" (II), 97, 109, 282, 287; "Censure" (VI), 183-4.

<sup>30</sup> Virtue meaning the powers of personality, thought of either as passively resisting or as actively opposing the force of circumstances. As before, circumstances or environment are the province of Fortune. "Mamillia" (II), 162: "The incomparable constancie of *Mamillia*, which was so surelie defenced with the rampier of vertue, as all the fierce assaults of fortune could no whit prevaile." "Virtue" may thus be associated or identified with any strong human quality: *Constancy in love*, as in the passage just quoted, and in "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 183, 184, 186. *Courage*: "Spanish Masquerado" (V), 258. *Counsel*: "Planetomachia" (V), 125; "Penelope's Web" (V), 172-3; *Prowess*: "Censure" (VI), 243. *Fortitude*: "Censure" (VI), 257; "Perimedes" (VII), 52-3; *Wit*: "Second Part of Connycatching" (X), 111. *Foresight*: "Philomela" (XI), 115. *Valor*: "Orpharion" (XII), 84. *Wisdom*: "Mamillia," II, 288; "Censure" (VI), 202, 208. Though these qualities, summed up as "Virtue," are occasionally said, like "Nature," to coöperate with Fortune, they generally resist her. One of Greene's favorite thoughts, closely connected with his tendency toward the pastoral and the simple life, is that Fortune can be "spited" by a silent and contented endurance of her flouts: she rejoices to hear her victims complain, but is grieved by their patient, contemptuous silence. So "Perimedes" (VII), 12, 26; "Arbusto" (III), 180-1, 250, 253; "Farewell" (IX), 262, 264; "Censure" (VI), 217. The thought grows naturally out of Greene's favorite "situation"—a high born person in retirement or adversity. This is the *genre* "De Casibus Virorum Illustrium" ("Orpharion" (XII), 91-92: "The chaunces of fortune, and fall of Princes"); which Greene removes from its mediaeval association with tragedy, by giving it a happy ending and adorning it with classical sentiments about Fortune. The antithesis of *virtus* and *fortuna*, indeed, goes back at least as far as Sophocles, appears formally in Cicero and Virgil, as well as in Plutarch and later writers, and is exemplified in literally

gives visual form, conventional or bizarre, traditional or peculiar, to Fortune<sup>31</sup> personified. Finally, his imagination, like that of Achilles Tatius, employs Fortune as a *vera causa*, the mistress of his plot, to begin his action, work its *peripeteia*, furnish its moments of suspense, and accomplish its *dénouement* or catastrophe. Beyond this, Greene's use of Fortune cannot go, nor is it skil-

innumerable passages in the literature and inscriptions of the Renaissance. A few instances of its formal occurrence in Greene may be noted: "Morando" (III), 130, 142, hints that Greene may have known of the antique origin of the formula. The Romans, it is said, "thought themselves more beholding unto Fortune for the greatnesse and prosperitie of their Empire then to vertue," but "the Athenians placed vertue above Fortune." Other passages, in "Pandosto" (IV), 273; "Penelopes Web" (V), 159; "Menaphon" (VI), 1 (title-page); "Perimedes" (VII), 61; "Tullies Love" (VII), 211; "Neuer too Late" (VIII), 59, 61; "Mourning Garment" (IX), 122; "Alcida" (IX), 23, 89, 93; "Philomela" (X), 169. The history of the formula strikes deep into the history of literature and of ideas, and is a subject rather for a volume than for a foot-note.

<sup>31</sup> Fortune's wheel is no longer, as it was in Roman art, a mere symbol, an attribute for an august goddess to hold quietly in her hand or to lean upon. It has become during the Middle Ages, and it remains in Greene, an active instrument upon which Fortune raises and lowers her victims. So "Perimedes" (VII), 55-6; "Censure" (VI), 174; "Arbasto" (III), 231; "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 123, 125; "Morando" (III), 133-4. In the last-cited passage, and in "Alcida" (IX), 82, she stands upon a *globe*, and is *winged*—(cf. Dürer's engraving known as "Die grosse Fortuna"); in "Pandosto" (IV), 274, she is "plumed with Times feathers"; in "Farewell" (IX), 256, she is "like the picture of *Ianus*, double faced"; *ib.*, 264, she is blinded by her own spite; in "Mamillia" (II), 78, she is blind again; in "Arbasto" (III), 179, her "counterfeit" shows her "with one foot troade on a polype fish, and with the other on a camelion, as assured badges of . . . mutabilitie." This is a pure "emblem."



ful or consistent as it stands; but so far it certainly does go; and not all his trumpery can conceal the fact.

The only one of these intellectual or imaginative uses of Fortune that need occupy us further is the last. Greene uses three times the device of a soliloquy overheard: in "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 153; in "Perimedes," and in "Philomela"—a device distinctly fortuitous. In the first instance, he says, "frowarde Fortune brought it so to passe, that Valericus [who was Gwydonius's rival and sought occasion to ruin him] coming by the chamber of Gwydonius," heard him reveal the fact that he was the son of the Duke's enemy. A cruel father's finding of his daughter's love-letters is also contrived by Fortune. "Planetomachia" (V), 81: Rodento having told his love to Valdracko's daughter Pasylla, and received from her a not unfavorable reply, "Fortune . . . thought to lift him up to ye skies, yt she might wt more violence push him down lower than hel, and to bring this to passe she thus laid her platforme. It fortunéd" that Valdracko found Rodento's letter and a copy of Pasylla's—an event which set him plotting the atrocities that lead on to the remainder of the tale. Fortune is here a *vera causa*. So she is in "Perimedes" (VII), 27 (Boccaccio's story of Madonna Beritola). Whereas Boccaccio had brought about his *peripeteia* by means of a semblance, at least, of natural causes,—letting the hounds drive one of Beritola's kids to her protection, and thus effecting her discovery and rescue,—Greene left this

matter to pure chance: "Fortune not brooking her owne bitterness, seeing how patient the Ladie [Mariana] was in her miserie, determined to add some relief to her passions, which she brought to passe in this manner. The *Despot of Decapolis* and his wife . . . being one day rode on hunting, by chaunce . . . lost their way, and happened into that desert, where they . . . met Mariana." Earlier in the story, Fortune had charge of the shipwreck. *Ib.*, 23: "fortune who ment to make her a mirrour of hir inconstancie, as it were entring into a league with *Neptune*, drove hir upon the coast of Decapolis." It is, of course, one of the inalienable rights of Fortune to cast people upon strange shores. She does this likewise in "Alcida" (IX), 15, according to one of Greene's drag-net or blunderbuss assertions: "Whether our unhappy Fortune, the frowardnesse of the Fates, the constellation of some contrary Aspect, or the particular destinie of some unhappy man had so decreed . . . our barke by chance fell upon the coast of *Taprobane*." This prerogative of Fortune is well recognized by all who take ship. In "Philomela" (XI), 172, "As the poore Countesse . . . little regarded to what port of Christēdom the bark made, . . . she slipt awaie . . . and getting aboorde vnder saile, commit[ted] her selfe to God, the mercie of the Seas, and to the husband[ry] of manie hard fortunes." So did Achilles Tatius's eloping party (II. xxxi). Fortune uses her control of wind and wave in a spirit of irony. In "Censure" (VI), 189, when Maedyna and Vortymis planned to elope, "Fortune willing under the suppose of their felicitie

to hide the very substance of their myserie, brought the wind about . . . faire for Samos." She seems to possess a sort of grim sportiveness. Maedyna had nursed her guilty passion for Vortymis in secret (*ib.*), 185, "till at last fortune willing in a sweete figge to present hir bitter wormewoode, found such fit opportunity, that *Vortymis* and shee met alone." The same passage is repeated almost *verbatim* about Procidor and Marcella, in "Perimedes" (VII), 38. After the death of Cimbriana's father, in "Censure" (VI), 217, "Fortune seeing the Lady not greatly checked with this mate, thought to sport [her] selfe in the tragicall mishappe of this young princesse," and so brought fresh troubles upon her. A courtier, a shepherd, and a clown love the shepherdess Mirimida, and each writes her a letter. "Francescos Fortunes" (VIII), 204: "Thus had Fortune (meaning to be merrie) . . . brought it to passe that the three letters from the three rivals were deliuered at one instant." Fortune brings about a serious coincidence as easily as a comic one. Philomela living in retirement in Palermo is being sought by her father, her husband and her friend. "Philomela" (XI), 193: "It chaunced that either by Fortune or destinie" all three arrived in that city at the same time. So malevolent is the goddess in her grim irony that she baits traps for mankind. In "Penelope's Web" (V), 189, the dethroned Queen sends warning verses to the usurper.

"Take heed, Ambition is a sugred ill,

That fortune layes, presumptuous mynds to spill."

But if she is "*varium et mutabile semper*," that



very fact brings consolation; for she will change as well at her worst as at her best; hence, in misery men may look for a happy turn. It is thus that Lamedon comforts Sephestia after their shipwreck ("Menaphon" (VI), 45-7); and it is thus, in "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 160, when Valericus and Thersandro are sent separately to apprehend Gwydonius as a traitor, that "Fortune, who after euey chip of mischaunce sendeth some lot of good lucke, and after euerie storme of aduersitie, sendeth a quiet calme of prosperitie," arranged for him to be met and arrested not by his enemy but by his friend, who let him escape.

Typical of this real activity of Fortune is an important incident in "Pandosto" (IV), 296. The shepherd, Fawnia's foster-father, has left home meaning to disclose to the King (Dorastus's father), the circumstances under which Fawnia had been found. Had this errand been accomplished, the King would have learned of Fawnia's royal birth and would doubtless have consented at once to her marriage with his son. "But as [Porrus] was going, fortune (who meant to shoue him a little false play) prevented his purpose in this wise. He met by chaunce" the Prince's servant, bound for the ship on which Dorastus and Fawnia were already embarked. The servant feigning that the King was on the ship, persuaded the shepherd to come aboard;<sup>32</sup> and of course kidnapped him and prevented the disclosure. Hence neither of the kings knew Fawnia, and her own father was about to put

<sup>32</sup> Autolycus, meeting the shepherd, performs the same function in "Winter's Tale," IV. iv, 824.

her to death. The moment of last suspense in the tale (see *post*, p. 426) is thus directly brought about by the agency of Fortune, both in kidnapping Porrus and in wrecking the lovers upon the coast of Bohemia.

Such are some of the aspects which Fortune—never, one may say, absent from Greene's mind—assumes according as she is more or less removed from his "focus of consciousness." Far from the focus, and seen with the tail of his eye, she is a word, ready to be applied anywhere, anyhow, either without a meaning or with a meaning contrary to the realities of the case. Approaching the focus, she becomes a *quasi*-reality, half visible and related with some plausibility to other abstract quasi-realities, human and non-human. In the focus, she is a genuine force, very skilful indeed to make things happen, and to put Greene's personages into interesting situations: she is the mistress of his plot. In all these aspects, in the breadth of their range, and, throughout that range, in the enormous frequency of Greene's mention of Fortune, there is a strong resemblance to Achilles Tatius.<sup>33</sup>

Were there no certain evidence of direct borrowing by Greene, the similarities just set forth—similarities in rhetoric and style, and in the use and abuse of Fortune—would at least prove a strong mental kinship between the two writers, would show that Greene was inclined, was ready, to be influenced by Achilles Tatius. They would probably do more: their cumulative effect would

<sup>33</sup> Other aspects of Fortune in Greene seem to be derived from Heliodorus, and still others from Longus. They will be treated hereafter. See pp. 409 ff. and 435 ff.

be to raise at least a presumption of actual influence. However this may be, the matter is placed beyond doubt, and the probability rendered a certainty, by the direct borrowings now to be set forth.

It was said (*ante*, p. 379), that the presence in "Clitophon and Leucippe" and in "Arbasto" of the same faults in narrative method, was no accident. The simple fact is that Greene took his framework bodily from the Greek romance. In both, the narrator is tempest-tossed; arrives at *Sidon*; makes a thank-offering; makes it to the goddess whom the { "citizens"  
"Sidonians" } call *Astarte*; then goes about looking at the sights; sees a picture exhibiting the power of { "Fortune"  
"Love" }; sees, close by, a man moved by the sight of that picture; asks the man to tell his story; meets with some reluctance on the part of the stranger; but at length hears the story, which is a story of sufferings occasioned by { "Fortune"  
"Love" }.

Following are the passages arranged parallel:

"ARBASTO" (III). 178 ff. (Opening of story.)	"CLITOPHON AND LEUCIPPE," I. i, ii. (Opening of story.)
"Sayling towards Candie," <sup>84</sup> after that I had long time been tossed with infortunate tempests, forced	Σιδὼν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλις. ... Ἐνταῦθα ἦκων ἐκ πόλ- λου χειμῶνος,

<sup>84</sup> The phrase "sayling towards Candie," is Greene's translation of a part of Achilles Tatius's *ἐκφύλαξις* of Europa (likewise at the beginning of "Clitophon and Leucippe"), and occurs, *ipsissimis verbis*, in Greene's rendering of the Europa passage, in his "Morando." See *post*, p. 399.



by wind and waue, our course not well guided by our compasse, happily arrived at the city of *Sydon*, where being set on shoare, I straight with my companions, went to offer incense to ye goddesse of prosperitie, which the citizens call *Astarte*. Whither being come, my deuotions done, and my oblations offered up, desirous to take a view of the ancient monuments of the Tēple, I passed through many places, where most sumptuous sepulchres were erected: which being seene, as I thought to have gone to my lodging, I espied a Cel, having the dore opē: [wherein sat an old priest clad in satin and crowned with gold, who] leaned his heade vpon his right hand, powring forth streames of watrish teares, as outward signes of some inward passions, and held in his left hand the counterfeit of fortune. . . . Willing to knowe both the cause of his care, and what the picture of Fortune did import, [I asked

σῶστρα ἔθνον ἑμαντοῦ τῇ τῶν Φοινίκων θεᾷ. Ἀσ-  
τάρτην αὐτὴν οἱ Σιδώνιοι  
καλοῦσιν. Καὶ περιῦν  
οὖν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν

καὶ περισκοπῶν τὰ ἀναθή-  
ματα,

ὁρῶ γραφὴν [viz. of the  
Rape of Europa. When  
I exclaimed upon the  
power of love,] νεανίσ-  
κος καὶ αὐτὸς παρεστῶς,

him for his story, and though he rebuffed me, I persisted.] p. 183: If the praier of a poore stranger might preuaile to perswade you to vnfold the cause of these your sudden passions, I shoulde thinke my former trauels counteruaile[d] with this your friendly curtesie." Finally, he did tell me what he had suffered at Fortune's hands.

Ἐγὼ ταῦτ' ἂν ἐδείκνυν, ἔφη, τοσαύτας ὑβρεῖς ἐξ ἔρωτος παθών. Καὶ τί πέπονθας, εἶπον, ὦγαθέ; He hesitated; but soon told me what he had suffered at the hands of Love.

"Arbasto" was published in 1584; and so, probably, were "Carde of Fancie" and Part I of "Morando." "The card of phantasie" appears in the Stationers' Register on April 11, 1584. Of "Morando" Grosart mentions (Greene, Works, III. 44) a "Part Ist, of 1584, in the Bodleian"; and Storojenko (ibid. I. 75) argues against any later date for the first edition, as the Earl of Arundel, to whom it is dedicated, "was committed to the Tower for high treason in the following year." Both books were certainly printed in 1587; but if they first appeared in 1584, that year saw the publication of all of Greene's work containing direct transcription from Achilles Tatius.

In "Carde of Fancie" one of the heroines is *Lewcippa*; her father, the Duke of Metelyne, is *Clerophontes*.<sup>35</sup> Her brother makes his way to

<sup>35</sup> If Greene used an Italian version of Achilles Tatius, the name Clerophontes may have come, with the change of one letter, from *Clitofonte* or *Cletofonte*. "*Thersandro*" points to an Italian form.

*Alexandria*, enters the service of the Duke there, and becomes the friend of the Duke's son *Thersandro*, who afterwards marries *Lewcippha*. The daughter of the Duke of *Alexandria* is placed in charge of a widow named *Melytta*. In "Morando" Greene uses the names "*Panthia*," "*Lacena*," and "*Sostrata*."

In "Carde of Fancie" Greene puts into the mouth of Valericus, as a soliloquy, the invective of Clinias against women.

"CARDE OF FANCIE"  
(IV), 37, 39-40

. . . "Call to minde what miseries, what mischiefes, what mishappes, what what woes, what wailings, murthers, what care, what calamities haue happened to such as haue beene besotted with the balefull beautie of women. . . . What careless inconstancie ruled *Eriphila*? What currish crueltie reigned in *Philomela*? How incestuous a life led *Aeuropa*? And how miserable was that man that married *Sthuolea*? What gaines got *Tereus* in winning *Progne*, but a loathsome death for a little delight? *Agamemnon* in possessing the beautie of *Crecida*,

"CLITOPHON AND LEUCIPPE," I. viii

... ἡγνόμεναι ἀνὰ τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν δράματα · νῦν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις λόγοις, ὅσων ἐνέπλησαν μύθων γυναῖκες τὴν σκηνήν. Ὁ ὄρμος

Ἐριφύλης, Φιλομήλης ἡ τράπεζα, Σθενοβοίας ἡ διαβολή, Ἀερόπης ἡ

κλοπή, Πρόκνης ἡ σφαγή.  
\* Ἀν τὸ Χρυσήϊδος κάλλος Ἀγαμέμνων ποθῇ, λοιμὸν τοῖς Ἕλλησι ποιεῖ· ἀν τὸ



caused the Grecian armie most grieuously to be plagued. *Candaules* was slaine by his murthering wife whom so intirely he loued. Who was thought more happie than the husbände of *Helena*, and yet who in time lesse fortunate? What hapless chances insued of the chastitie of *Penelope*? What broiles in *Rome* by the vertue of *Lucrecia*? The one caused her sutors, most horrible, to be slaine, and the other that *Tarquine* and all his posteritie were rooted out of their regall dignities. *Phaedra* in louing killed her hapless sonne *Hippolitus*, and *Clitemnestra* in hating slewe her loving husband *Agamemnon*. Alasse *Valericus*, how dangerous is it then to deale with such dames, which if they loue, they procure thy fatall care: and if they hate thee, thy finall calamitie?

Βρισηΐδος κάλλος Ἀχιλλεύς, πένθος αὐτῷ προσενεῖ· ἐὰν ἔχῃ γυναῖκα Κανδαύλης καλὴν, φονεύει Κανδαύλην ἢ γυνή. Τὸ

μὲν γὰρ Ἑλένης τῶν γάμων πῦρ ἀνῆψε κατὰ τῆς Τροίας

ἄλλο πῦρ· ὁ δὲ Πηνελόπης γάμος τῆς σώφρονος, πόσους νυμφίους ἀπώλεσεν;

Ἀπέκτεινεν Ἴππολυτον φιλοῦσα Φαίδρα,

Κλυταιμνήστρα δ' Ἀγαμέμνονα μὴ φιλοῦσα. Ὡ πάντα τολμῶσαι γυναῖκες·

κἂν φιλῶσι, φονεύουσι·

κἂν μὴ φιλῶσι, φονεύουσι.

Greene substitutes Lucrece for Briseis, and transposes Sthenoboea (misprinted "Sthuolea") and Aërope ("Aeuropa"). Otherwise his list reproduces Achilles Tatius's, and in the same

order, dulling its edges with generalization, but sharpening them again in the antithesis at the end.

Again, in "Carde of Fancie," Castania under stress of conflicting emotions compares her case to that of Achilles Tatius's Sicilian spring, where water and fire mingle:

"CARDE OF FANCIE"  
(IV), 80

"In which cursed case  
alasse my care consisteth,  
for as out of the river  
*Cea* in *Sicillia* bursteth  
most fearefull flames, and  
yet the streame is passing  
colde, neither is the water  
able to quench the fire,  
nor the fire cause the wa-  
ter to be hotte, so the  
heate of hope flameth out  
of the chilling fountains  
of feare."

"CLITOPHON AND IÆU-  
CIPPE," II. xiv

Τὸ γοῦν τῆς Σικελικῆς  
πηγῆς ὕδωρ κεκερασμένον  
ἔχει πῦρ· καὶ φλόγα μὲν  
ὄψει κάτωθεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς  
ἀλλομένην ἄνωθεν. θί-  
γοντι δέ σοι τὸ ὕδωρ,  
ψυχρὸν ἐστὶν οἷόν περ χιῶν,  
καὶ οὔτε τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
ὕδατος κατασβέννυται,  
οὔτε τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς  
φλέγεται ...

Greene uses the same paradox twice more. In "Alcida" (IX), 59, Meribates, who is cruising about, comes by chance to Taprobane and falls in love. He soliloquizes: "Soughtest thou to abide the pleasures of *Neptune*, and art faine to stand to the courtesie of loue? Hast thou found flames amidst the waues? Fire in the water . . .?" In "Never too late" (VIII), 51, part of "Isabells Ode":

"Her eies carried darts of fier,  
Feathred all with swift desier,

Yet foorth these fierie darts did passe  
 Pearled teares as bright as glasse,  
 That wonder twas in her eine  
 Fire and water should combine."

The longest of Greene's direct transcriptions is taken, like the frame of "Arbasto" (*ante*, p. 393), from Achilles Tatius's opening chapters, which seem to have appealed strongly to Greene. Now, in "Morando," it is the romancer's *ἑκφρασις* of Europa that he copies.

"MORANDO" (III), 56-7

*Signior Peratio* spied hanging in the Parler a Table most curiously painted: wherein both the sea and the land was most perfectly pourtraied. The picture was of Europa, the sea of the *Phenicians* and the land of *Sydon*: On the shoare was a beautifull Medow, wherein stood a troupe of daintie Damosels: in the Sea a Bull, upon whose backe sat a Dame of surpassing beautie, sailing towards *Candie*,<sup>30</sup> but looking to the crew of her companions from whom by sinister meanes she was separated. The painter by secrete skill had perfectly with his Pensill desciph-

"CLITOPHON AND LEUCIPPE," I. i, ii

i. ὁρῶ γραφὴν ἀνακειμένην

γῆς ἄμα καὶ θαλάττης.

Εὐρώπης ἡ γραφὴ. Φοινίκων ἡ θάλασσα · Σιδῶνος ἡ γῆ.

Ἐν τῇ γῇ λειμῶν καὶ χορὸς παρθένων.

Ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ταῦρος ἐνήχετο, καὶ τοῖς νώτοις καλὴ παρθένος ἐπεκάθητο,

ἐπὶ Κρήτην τῷ ταύρῳ πλέουσα ... Ἐν δὲ τῷ τοῦ λειμῶνος τελει πρὸς ταῖς ἐπὶ θάλατταν τῆς γῆς ἐκβολαῖς τὰς παρθένους ἔταξεν ὁ τεχνίτης. Τὸ σχῆμα ταῖς παρθένοις καὶ

<sup>30</sup> "Sailing towards *Candie*": see *ante*, p. 393, n. 34.



ered the feature of their faces, as their countenance did seeme to importe both feare and hope. For seeing their Peereles Princesse a praie to such a prowling Pyrate, they rusht into the seas (as willing to be partakers of their Mistresse miserie) as far as feare of such feareful surges would permit them, but pushed backe with the dread of present daunger, they stood vewing how cunningly and carefully the Bull transported his charge: How *Europa* araied in purple robes sat securely and safely holding in her right hand his horne, and in her left his taile. About him the *Dolphins* seemed to leape, the *Syrens* to sing, and *Triton* himselfe to triumph. *Cupid* also in the forme of a litle boy was there most curiously painted, hauing the wings spread, a Quiuer by his side, in one hand a flame of fire, in the other a chaine of gold wherwith he drew the Bull as by constraint, and turning his head to

χαρὰς καὶ φόβον ... τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνοίξασαι πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν. ... τὰς χεῖρας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν βούν ὤρεγον. Ἐπέβαινον ἄκρας τῆς θαλάττης, ὅσον ὑπεράνω μικρὸν τῶν ταρσῶν ὑπερέχειν τὸ κύμα. ἐώκεσαν δὲ βούλεσθαι μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ταῦρον δραμεῖν, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ τῇ θαλάττῃ προσελθεῖν ... Ταῦρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ θαλάττῃ ἐγγράπτο τοῖς κύμασιν ἐποχούμενος ... Ἡ παρθένος μέσοις ἐπεκάθητο τοῖς νώτοις τοῦ βοῦς ... τῇ λαίᾳ τοῦ κέρως ἐχομένη ... ἡ χλαῖνα πορφυρᾷ ...

Αἱ χεῖρες ἄμφω διετέταντο, ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ κέρας, ἡ δ' ἐπ' οὐράν ... Περὶ δὲ τὸν βούν ὠρχοῦντο δελφῖνες, ἔπαιζον Ἑρωτες ... Ἑρως εἶλκε τὸν βούν. Ἑρως, μικρὸν παιδίον,

ἡπλώκει τὸ πτερὸν, ἡρτητο

φαρέτραν, ἐκράτει τὸ πῦρ·

ἐπέστραπτο δ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν

wards Jupiter seemed to smile at his follie, and to despise his deitie, that by this means he had made such a strange Metamorphosis.

*Signior Peratio* hauing long gazed on this gorgeous picture, both praised his perfect skill that had so cunningly made a counterfeite of Nature by arte, and also mused at the force of Loue that had by conquest caught so worthie a Captiue, that at length as one forced by affection he sighing said: O Gods that a childe should rule both the heauen, the sea and the land. *Don Siluestro* seeing *Peratio* so sodainlie passionate with the view of a simple picture, taking occasion herupon to enter into further parle began to crosse him on this maner . . .

Δία καὶ ὑπερμειδία, ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ καταγελῶν. ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν γέγονε βούς.

ii. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα μὲν ἐπὴνουν τῆς γραφῆς,

ἄτε δ' ὦν ἐρωτικὸς περιεργότερον ἔβλεπον τὸν ἄγοντα τὸν βόυν Ἐρωτα.

καὶ Οἶον, εἶπον, ἄρχει βρέφος οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης Ταῦτά μιν λέγοντος, νεανίσκος καὶ αὐτὸς παρεστὼς ... ἔφη ... κτλ

The foregoing passage is notable, as being the only *ἔκφρασις* in Greene. Later in the same novel, "Morando" (III), 133-4, there is, to be sure, a formal description of Fortune, which professes to reproduce a painting of her "in the

Duke of *Florence* chamber"; but the moralizing commentary accompanying this description as it proceeds, together with the verses said to be appended to the picture, leave no doubt that it is an *Emblem*<sup>37</sup> rather than a true ἔκφρασις.

In still another passage of the same novel—"Morando" (III), 77—one of the personages having remarked upon the suddenness of love is asked what made him think of that, and replies:

"The picture of *Andromeda* and *Perseus*, which hangs here before mine eyes, brought this to my remembrance, for me thinke [*sic*] either *Andromeda* was passing beautifull, or *Perseus* verie amorous, that soaring aloft in the ayre he did firmlie loue before he did fullie looke, his eyes were scarce-lie fixed ere his hart was fettered."

—A brief allusion to a picture which Achilles Tatius gives in full (A. T., III. vi, vii). Greene lets pass the chance for another ἔκφρασις.

In fact, Greene's talent does not lie that way. He is distinctly deficient in descriptive power, and seems to want almost wholly the feeling for scenic "background." As will be observed later,<sup>38</sup> he fails when he tries to write a spectacular Heliodorean ensemble-scene. His one description of landscape<sup>39</sup> is brief and runs off into frigid

<sup>37</sup> "Winged she was, and standing upon a gloabe, as decyphering her mutabilitie. . . . In the left hande, a wheele, which she tourneth about continually . . . thereby giving us to understand," etc. The verses end with this couplet:

"Which embleme tels vs the inconstant state,  
Of such as trust to Fortune or to Fate."

<sup>38</sup> *Post*, pp. 417-421.

<sup>39</sup> "Menaphon" (VI), 36 ff.



mythology. He has something else instead of the visual sense: he has an unfailing sense for incident, and *will* tell what happened (not a bad substitute); together with an unfailing didactic vein (a very bad substitute indeed). The first leads him to change subtly the description of Europa even while he transcribes: his non-sensuous, non-descriptive, but *narrative* talent rejects the purely descriptive, elaborately sensuous details of Achilles Tatius's picture, while it requires him to keep those details which tell the story. The second—his tendency to moralize—here retains the details that are emblematic of the power of love, which he, like his original, means to make the theme of further discourse. This allegorizing didactic vein finds the fullest expression in the Emblems that are scattered broadcast up and down Greene's pages, instead of true visual imagery.<sup>40</sup> Greene's one truly pictorial description,—the "Europa"—is not his own, but is borrowed whole from Achilles Tatius; and although in the same novel with it are two other suggestions for *ἐκφράσεις* (the "Fortune" and the "Perseus and Andromeda"), yet Greene's weak visual imagination can not be roused, even by the highly pictorial Achilles Tatius, to make more than an allusion out of the one and an emblem out of the other.

There remain in Greene's works a number of incidents and *motifs* whose *provenance* might perhaps be in doubt if Greene's acquaintance with "Clitophon and Leucippe" were in doubt, but

<sup>40</sup> Cf. S. L. Wolff, "Greene and the Italian Renaissance," *Englische Studien*, vol. 37, pp. 364, 369-72.

which may now safely be ascribed to the influence of Achilles Tatius. Several of these occur in "Carde of Fancie," one of that group of three books,—the other two being "Arbasto" and "Morando"—which, belonging to the early middle years of Greene's literary activity (1584-1587), show Achilles Tatius's influence upon him at its height. Guydonius, in a soliloquy overheard by his enemy Valericus, discloses both his parentage and his love affair with Castania ("Carde of Fancie," IV. 153-7). So in A. T., VI. xvi, Leucippe, in a soliloquy overheard by her enemy Thersander, discloses both her parentage and her love affair with Clitophon. The defiant tirade of Castania in prison ("Carde of Fancie," IV. 171), is reminiscent of Leucippe's tirade against Thersander (A. T., VI. xxii), though far inferior. The double wedding at the end of "Carde of Fancie"—a brother and a sister marrying respectively a sister and a brother—looks like an intensified repetition of Achilles Tatius's double wedding—of Clitophon to Leucippe and of his sister Calligone to Callistratus.

In "Morando" (III), 76,—(another member of the same group of books)—"Being all pleasantlie disposed, they passed away to *supper* with manye pretie parlees, *Don Silvestro* only excepted, who was in his dumps: for the *beautie of Lacena* had already so battered the bulwarke of his breast, and had *so quatted his stomacke with her excellent qualities, that he onely fed his eyes in noting the exquisit perfection of her person*"—a reminiscence of A. T., I. v, and V. xiii.

Immediately after the 1584-7 group there follow "Pandosto" (published 1588) and "Alcida" (licensed December 9, 1588). Each contains a momentary reminiscence of "Clitophon and Leucippe." In "Alcida" (IX), 83, Meribates, "early in a morning stepped into her [Eriphila's] bed chamber, where finding her betweene halfe sleeping and waking" he said, "Sweet mistresse, I feele in my mind, a perilous and mortall conflict between feare and love." (Cf. Clitophon's conflicting emotions in Leucippe's chamber, A. T., II. xxiii.)

In "Pandosto," IV. 310, 311, 314, Fawnia is wooed by Pandosto with threats and verbal abuse which distinctly recall Thersander's brutal courtship of Leucippe (A. T., xix-xx; VII. i).

"Philomela," published only in the year of Greene's death (1592), was "written long since," as he says in his Epistle Dedicatory (p. 109); and "hatched long agoe, though now brought forth to light" ("To the Gentlemen Readers," p. 113). Indeed, it belongs not to the late realistic group with which it appears, but rather, in kind, to the 1584-7 group, or to the "Pandosto"- "Menaphon" group of 1588-9.

Philomela's commitment of herself to a ship whose destination she does not know or care to know has already (*ante*, p. 389) been compared with the similar embarkation of Clitophon and Leucippe. The dénouement of "Philomela" in a final trial-scene is obviously modelled upon the corresponding scene in Achilles Tatius. In "Philomela" (XI), 199-203, Philipppo, weary of living



because repentant of his cruelty to his wife Philomela, accuses himself of a murder that he may gain the boon of death. The person supposed to have been murdered is all the while alive and well, and appears in court in time to save him. There are other particulars of this scene which point to Sidney's "Arcadia" as an additional model, but so much is equally attributable to the bizarre situation at Clitophon's trial (A. T., VII. vi-xiii; VIII. ix); where Clitophon to gain the boon of death accuses himself of the murder of Leucippe, who is all the while alive and well, and who actually appears at the second session of the court.

Last of these miscellaneous borrowings from Achilles Tatius is a scene in Greene's "Groatsworth" (XII), 119-126. Roberto has introduced his brother Lucanio to the courtesan Lamilia, with whom he has arranged to fleece the victim and share the spoil. Finding them amorous, he remarks that "some crosse chaunce may come. . . . And for a warning to teach you both wit, Ile tell you an old wiues tale. Before ye go on with your tale (quoth Mistresse *Lamilia*) let me give ye a caueat by the way, which shall be figured in a Fable." She tells the Fable of the Fox, the Badger and the Ewe,—showing that she distrusts Roberto. He then tells the Novella of the Farmer Bridegroom, as if to show "the effects of sodaine love," but really to hint that there's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip, and that she had better play fair by him, or he'll spoil the game. This reciprocal telling of tales to convey a covert warn-

ing probably was suggested by the scene (A. T., II. xx-xxii) where Conops and Satyrus exchange fables with like purpose.

Such is the influence of Achilles Tatius upon Greene. In only a single case—"Arbasto," where it gives him his narrative framework, faults and all, does it even approach the creative imagination at work. Everywhere else it gives either single scenes, which Greene rather copies than imitates, or, still more superficially, ornament that is non-structural, that is easily detachable, and that again is not so much inspired by Achilles Tatius as transcribed from him. All this is quite consonant with the superficiality both of Greene and of Achilles Tatius. Greene, if anything, is the shallower of the two. He is blind where Achilles Tatius has a seeing eye; he can draw no character, whereas Achilles Tatius finds some characters within his range; he cannot sustain a plot beyond *novella*-length, whereas Achilles Tatius keeps up both interest and coherence throughout his eight books; he is the slave of Fortune, Achilles Tatius only her worshiper. On the other hand, where Achilles Tatius is gross, Greene is unstained; where Achilles Tatius wanders, Greene clings to the tale because he *will* tell what happened; and where Achilles Tatius's lust of the eye lures him aside, Greene's innocent blindness keeps him in the path. But their love of clap-trap and tinsel, their essential superficiality, makes them kin. Given Greene and Achilles Tatius in contact at all, Greene is sure to take from his predecessor much the sort of thing we

have found him actually taking. Precisely so far as Greene's work belongs to the literature of illusion, it is fed by the work of Achilles Tatius.

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Not so with Heliodorus. Greene's contact with the "Æthiopica" is a contact on Greene's best side, the side that at least endeavors to be real; the side that at least endeavors to draw character, to construct plot, to depict monumental background. Greene's predilection for a suffering heroine produces if not a character, at least a type; his employment of oracles and recognition goes, in intention at least, to the foundation of his plot; and his striving for "pathetic" ensemble-scenes is itself pathetic. What matter that he fails, sometimes absurdly, in each of these endeavors? Like his model, Heliodorus, *magnis excidit ausis*. And it was the happy destiny of one of Greene's Heliodorean plots, adorned with pastoral detail from Longus, to be caught up by Shakespeare, and translated.

Greene three times alludes by name to Theagenes and Chariclea. In "Mamillia" (II. 67), Mamillia acknowledges her love to Pharicles: "be thou but *Theagines* [*sic*], and I will try my selfe to be more constant then *Caniclia* [*sic*]: no torments, no trauayle, no, onelye the losse of life shall diminishe my love." Pharicles later, in love with Publia, reproaches himself for his inconstancy. After citing Regulus and others who kept faith, he concludes (*ib.*, 91): "What perilles suffered *Theagines* to keepe his credit with *Caricha*



[sic]? Pharicles, let these examples moouue thee to be loyall to Mamillia." In "Alcida" (IX), 80, Eriphila, like Pharicles, reproves her own inconstancy, and in almost the same words. She cites two of the same antique examples, modifying them so as to make the *woman* the pattern of fidelity, and concludes: "What perils suffered *Cariclia* for *Theagynes*?"—Greene also mentions the Gymnosophists: "Mamillia" (II), 164, 278, "Morando" (III), 118.

The assertion that future evils, though not preventable, are mitigated when foreseen by means of astrology, occurs in Heliodorus (II. xxiv), and is imitated by Achilles Tatius (I. iii). Greene's repetition of it resembles rather the former passage. "Planetomachia" (V), 25-6: "This science ('astronomie' = astrology) is very profitable to them that use it well. For whereas by a perfect calculation prosperitie and fortunate successe is prognosticated unto us, they breede in us a delightfull hope that they shall ensue: but *when any sinister mishappes are foreshadowed and foreseene, then they are less greenous, because they are warely lookt for, and so by time the burden of such insuing daungers, by a provident foresight is somewhat mittigated.*"

Like Heliodorus's, too, are some of Greene's uses of Fortune. As regards her function of bringing about shipwreck, it would be risky to assert in general that one of the Greek Romances was Greene's source, to the exclusion of the other. But in "Arbasto" (III), 178 ff., it has been seen (*ante*, p. 393), the association of

the shipwreck with Sidon, Astarte, etc., stamps it definitely as coming from Achilles Tatius. In the same way, in "Pandosto" (IV) the association of the two shipwrecks with the oracle, and with the exposure and the restoration of a child, stamps them as part of a more fundamental and grandiose plan of the Heliodorean kind, wherein Fortune serves as an instrument to work out higher ends. In "Menaphon" (VI), 42, likewise, the shipwreck follows closely upon the oracle, and the dénouement again consists of recognition, reunion and restoration, with very specific resemblances to the dénouement of the "Æthiopica" (see *post*, pp. 426-8). But the influence of Sidney's "Arcadia" upon "Menaphon" is as unmistakable as that of the "Æthiopica"; and with regard to elements common both to Sidney and to Heliodorus, like the oracle and the shipwreck, it would be difficult to say which influence preponderates.

Beyond doubt, however, is the source of Greene's habit of speaking of Fortune as a maker of theatrical situations, comic or tragic. Mariana, cast away, and by shipwreck bereft of husband and children, whom she believes to have perished, exclaims ("Perimedes" (VII), 26): "Dispaire and die, so shalt thou glut the ruthelless destinies with a most balefull stratageme; *since thy husband, thy children, have bene the first actors, end thou desperatly such a dolefull tragedie*: let fortune see how thou scornest to be infortunate."—A speech not in Boccaccio.

And at the end of the Second Tale, *ib.*, 51,

"Fortune willing after so sharpe a Catastrophe, to induce a comicall conclusion," reunited Alcimedus and Constance. In "Pandosto" (IV), 258-262, the sudden death of Garinter, the heir to the Kingdom, and of his mother the Queen, together with the King's desperation at the news, is spoken of as a "tragicall discourse of fortune." In "Philomela" (XI), 155, "Fortune whose enuye is to subuert content, and whose delight is to turn *comicke* mirth into *tragicke* sorrowes, *entered into the Theater of Philomelas lyfe*, and *beganne to act a baleful seane . . .*"<sup>41</sup>

The predilection for female character has often been remarked as characteristic of Greene. To say that he derived it from Heliodorus would of course be "to reason too curiously"; but it is worth noting again as one of the traits that at least lay Greene open to the influence of Greek Romance:—like his predilection for pastoral, or his "tychomania." And in more than one respect its results coincide with those of the same predilection in Heliodorus. Most of Greene's female characters suffer and are true; his conventional misogynistic passages, and his few sketches of wicked women, are far outweighed by his stories of women's chastity, fidelity and fortitude.<sup>42</sup> Incidentally, also, some of these excellent

<sup>41</sup> Similar passages: "Perimedes" (VII), 47; "Pandosto" (IV), 317; "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 192; "Never too Late" (VIII), 60-61.

<sup>42</sup> "Mamillia" is avowedly a defence of women against their maligners, and is expressly philogynistic: (II), 106-7, 162-3, 173, 260-1. Its plot rests upon the fidelity of Mamillia and Publia, and the treachery of Pharicles, who is a "mutable Machauilian" (205). The appended *Anato-*



ladies, in learning to outwit Fortune by squirming, acquire a skill in dissimulation<sup>43</sup> that would do credit to Chariclea. And on the other side, Greene's wicked types include not only the court-  
 esan,<sup>44</sup> but also the amorous woman,<sup>45</sup> the De-  
 maeneta and Arsace of the "Æthiopica." The  
 policy of dissimulation, too, extends to Greene's  
 men;<sup>46</sup> the "Machiavellianism" of the Renais-  
 sance here coinciding with the Greek Romance  
 hero's reliance upon his nimble wits. These types  
 are scarcely worth dwelling upon, for they are  
 types and nothing more; still they are much the

*mie of Louers Flatteries*, in a letter from Mamillia to Modesta, offers (254) a counterblast to each of Ovid's attacks upon women. To the *De Arte Amandi*, which teaches men how to inveigle women, Greene opposes (255-264) directions how to resist "the fained assault of mens pretended flatterie"; to the *De Remedio Amoris*, which (254) teaches men "to restraîne their affections from placing their fancies but for a time," Greene opposes *his* remedy (264-6) for ladies in love. But all this does not preclude (54, 221-2) the usual witticisms *ae conjuge non ducenda*, and concerning women's fickleness.—Other suffering heroines: Myrania ("Arbasto"), Castania ("Carde of Fancie"), Bellaria and Fawnia ("Pandosto"), Pasylla ("Planetomachia"), Barmenissa ("Penelopes Web"), Sephestia ("Menaphon"), Mariana and Constance ("Perimedes"), Isabel ("Never too Late" and "Francescos Fortunes"), Maesia and Semiramis ("Farewell to Follie"), Philomela ("Philomela"), Theodora ("Vision"), Argentina ("Orpharion").

<sup>43</sup> Pasylla, in "Planetomachia" (V), 78; Sephestia, in "Menaphon" (VI), 52, 63.

<sup>44</sup> Clarinda ("Mamillia"), Olinda ("Penelopes Web"), Infida ("Never too Late" and "Francescos Fortunes"), not named in "Mourning Garment," Lamilia ("Groatsworth").

<sup>45</sup> Rhodope ("Planetomachia"), Maedyna ("Censure").

<sup>46</sup> Pharicles ("Mamillia"), Arbasto ("Arbasto"), Pandosto ("Pandosto").

same types that Fortune evolves in Greek Romance.

Greene's strength lies, however, not in character but in incident. Greene borrows many incidental situations, motifs, tags, and bits of ornament from Heliodorus. Among such minor, non-structural, borrowings, is what Brunhuber (p. 22) calls "das Eros Motiv": a youth or maiden, once an enemy to love and a contemner of the cult, rites, or deity of Venus or Cupid, falls a victim to the vengeance of the gods of love, and becomes love's slave. So it was with Chariclea before she met Theagenes; so (in imitation of Heliodorus) with Clitophon before he met Leucippe; so with Euthynicus and the nymph Rhodopis, whose metamorphosis is related as an episode by Achilles Tatius (VIII. xii). This theme goes back to the story of Hippolytus, or further, is a favorite *motif* of the Alexandrians and their imitators, is found in Ovid and Virgil, and revives in the Renaissance, e. g., in Poliziano's "La Giostra" (I. st. 12-44). Sidney, as has been seen (*ante*, p. 308), uses it (and uses it structurally) as the motive force of his episode of Antiphilus and Erona. In view of these other possible sources, an unqualified assertion that Greene took his "Eros Motiv" from Heliodorus would not be justified. The present merely seems a convenient place at which to mention this borrowing. Greene uses it, as has been said, not structurally, but ornamentally. So in "Alcida" (IX), 90-91, "Venus seeing how my daughter *Marpesia* lived careless of her loves, and never sent so much as

one sigh to *Paphos* for a sacrifice: shee called *Cupid*, complaining that shee was atheist to her deitie, and one opposed to her principles: where-upon the boy at his mothers becke drewe out an invenomed arrow, and levelling at *Marpesia*, hit her under the right pappe." Now the point of the story of *Marpesia* is not her disdainfulness, but her inability to keep a secret; so that the *Eros-motif* really has nothing to do with the story. It is used similarly, to adorn a lover's soliloquy or as an ornate fashion of saying that someone fell in love, in "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 66; "Pandosto" (IV), 275; "Planetomachia" (V), 57-59, 129; "Perimedes" (VII), 69-71 (repetition of first passage in "Planetomachia"); "Menaphon" (VI), 37-42, 49, 55; "Tullies Love" (VII), 106, 109.

More certainly borrowed from Heliodorus are the incidents following. In "Philomela" (XI), 173, the captain of the ship in which the heroine makes her voyage to Sicily falls in love with her, and determines that she shall be his, will she nill she. Just so does the Phoenician captain fall in love with his fair passenger Chariclea ("Æthiopica"). The captain of Philomela's ship, pursuant to his resolution, steps to the door of her cabin, and overhears her soliloquizing within, and calling herself by the assumed name *Abstemia*. ("Philomela," 174-5). This parallels the situation in the "Æthiopica" (V. ii) where Cnemon at Chariclea's door overhears her soliloquizing within and calling herself by the assumed name *Thisbe*. Achilles Tatius also imitated this



passage (A. T., VI. xvi), letting Thersander overhear Leucippe call herself *Lacaena*. The remainder of the incident in "Philomela" Greene takes from Sidney's "Arcadia" (III. vi, 264-264v), where Cecropia at Pamela's door overhears her prayer and vow of chastity, and is abashed. So the Captain at Philomela's door overhears her vow of chastity, is abashed, and resolves to treat her with reverence. In "Menaphon" (VI), 62, Sephestia (Samela), banished by her father the King of Arcadia, but shipwrecked upon the Arcadian coast, exclaims: "My natieue home is my worst nurserie, and my friends denie that which strangers . . . grant"—viz., hospitality. Both the situation and the antithetic phrasing are similar to those in "Æthiopica," X. xvi, where Hydaspes exclaims (U 272-3): "My daughter . . . which hast in an ill time hapned upon thine owne countrey, worse to thee then any strange lande, who hast bene safe in other countreyes, but art in danger of death in thine owne . . . ." In "Planetomachia" (V), 129, Rhodope, wife of Psammetichus, King of Memphis, falls in love with her stepson Philarkes, and shows him favor. Now Aelian tells ("Var. Hist.," XIII. 33) only the story of Psammetichus's infatuation with the beauty of Rhodopis's sandal, which an eagle had snatched up and dropped in his lap, and of their subsequent marriage: he says nothing about a stepson.<sup>47</sup> Greene tells the earlier part of the story—the part about the

<sup>47</sup> Neither does Herodotus (II. 134, 135) or Pliny (XXXVI. 17). (Herodotus, like Heliodorus, says that Rhodopis was a Thracian.)

eagle, the sandal, and the marriage; and then proceeds to invent Philarkes and the guilty passion of his stepmother. Not quite *invent*, either, for in the "Æthiopica" he finds a Rhodopis at Memphis tempting Calasiris (II. xxv); again at Memphis he finds Arsace tempting Theagenes (VII. xiii ff); and he finds the guilty passion of Demaeneta for her stepson Cnemon<sup>48</sup> (I. ix-xii, xiv-xvii). These he compounds, either independently, or, as is more probable, under the additional influence of Sidney's story ("Old Arcadia," Clifford MS., 76v.) of Amasis and his stepmother,—a tale oddly enough also located at *Memphis*.<sup>49</sup> (See *ante*, p. 348, and *post*, Ap. B, p. 473-5.) The origin of the whole series is of course the story of Phaedra and Hippolytus; while one of the scenes in Greene's treatment of it—the visit of Rhodope to Philarkes where he lies lovesick—is probably from the quasi-historical legend of Stratonice and Antiochus. Last among these minor borrowings of Greene from Heliodorus may be noted the situation, in "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 191, where Gwydonius, in com-

<sup>48</sup> It is rather a temptation to think that Greene's *novella* of the Farmer Bridegroom—"Groatsworth" (XII), 121-6—with its double deception, double rendezvous, *qui pro quo* in the dark, and discovery, may owe something to Heliodorus's *novella* of the intrigues of Cnemon, Thisbe, and Demaeneta—"Æthiopica," I. ix-xii, xiv-xvii; but the abundance of similar material in *fabliaux* and Italian *novelle* would render any assertion of influence here extremely hazardous.

<sup>49</sup> Rhodope or Rhodopis is alluded to in "Euphues," II. 166-7, and in Greene as follows: "Mamillia" (II), 200, 230, 280; "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 62; "Debate" (IV), 219; "Planetomachia" (V), 104 ff; "Penelopes Web" (V), 175 (which also mentions Philarkes).

bat with his father Clerophontes, "alwaies received the strokes, but never so much as returned one blow: till at last looking aloft, and spying *Castania* [his mistress], his courage increased, that, all feare set aside, he carelessly flung away his sword and shield and ranne upon his Father," made him yield, and was proclaimed the victor. It is scarcely to be doubted that Greene had in mind the moment ("Æth.," IV. iv) when Theagenes, fixing his eyes upon Chariclea, wins the race.

This same scene,—the dénouement of "Carde of Fancie"—may be considered, too, as the first of Greene's *major* borrowings from Heliodorus,—borrowings of more than single situations, phrases or incidents, borrowings that are not merely ornamental, but structural. Here we have in fact, Greene's earliest attempt to write an ensemble-scene in Heliodorus's manner. As has been remarked, the scene is structural, in that it forms the *dénouement*; there is a trial by battle; this offers a *spectacle* for a numerous assemblage, whose life and death depend upon the issue of the combat, and who show appropriate *pathos* (pp. 189-90: ". . . all the Lords of *Alexandria*, clad in mourning attire . . . , thinking this dismall day should be the date of their destruction"; while, upon Gwydonius's victory—p. 191, "they of *Alexandria* gaue a mightie shout"); here are the hero and the heroine; here is the spectacular moment when he, looking up, sees her, gains renewed courage, and in her sight wins victory; here, finally is the hero's theatrical disclosure of



his identity, and recognition by his father, so that (p. 192) "*Fernandus* and *Orlanio* stooede astonished at this strange tragedie." Though ill-written, this passage contains nearly every ingredient of the great scenes of the "*Æthiopica*," and gives token of the deepening of Heliodorus's influence upon Greene.

Structural too are the *ensemble* scenes in "Tullies Love" and in "Philomela." At the Senate House (VII. 212-13), "before the whole state of *Rome*," there is held a trial of the dispute between Cicero and Lentulus on the one side and Fabius on the other. Cicero delivers an oration; the bystanders are duly moved; and the scene brings the story to its end. In "Philomela" (XI), 167, the heroine's jealous husband, Philipppo, publicly accuses her and his friend Lutesio of unchastity. He makes his speech before the Duke, Councillors and people of Venice. "And heer *Philippo* ceased, driuing al the hearers into a great mase, that the Duke sate astonished, the Consigliadori musing, and the common people murmuring . . . and bending their enuious eyes against the two innocents"; who, after sentence has been pronounced against them, make speeches. Later, Philomela's father, the Duke of Milan, comes to Venice to avenge the injury done to his daughter. He has received from one of the two Genoese who swore against her a confession that their testimony was false. There is a second trial-scene. Philipppo, summoned to the Senate House, brings with him the other perjured Genoese, who likewise confesses; where-

upon (*ib.*, 189) "there was a great shout in the Senat house, and clapping of hands amongst the common people." Philippo is overcome with remorse, and acknowledges his sin. Finally, there is still a third trial scene, now in Palermo, which brings about the dénouement (*ib.*, 203). Both Philippo and Philomela having accused themselves of the murder of the Duke's son, the young man appears alive. "At this the Duke startt uppe, and all the standers by were in a mase." And when it further appeared that Philomela had accused herself in order to save her husband, "the Sicilians at this, looking *Philomela* in the face, shouted at her wondrous vertues, and *Philippo* in a sound betweene greefe and ioy was carried away halfe dead." Pathos, evidently, and "pathetic optics,"<sup>50</sup> exhibited in a structural ensemble-scene.

<sup>50</sup> Almost overdone is the "pathetic optics" of the scene in "Menaphon" (VI), 71-3, where Melicertus and Samela meet at the shepherds' feast. When she entered, "her eyes gaue such a shine, and her face such a brightnesse, that they stood gazing on this Goddesse." She blushed so that the girls themselves loved her. Doron jogged Melicertus (Maximus disguised) who "was deeply drowned in the contemplation of her excellencie; sending out volles of sighs in remembrance of his old loue, as thus he sate meditating of her favour, how much she resembled her that death had deprived him off . . . Menaphon seeing Samela thus honoured, conceiued no small content . . . in-somuch that euerie one perceived howe the poore swayne fedde vpon the dignities of his Mistres graces. Pesana [in love with M.] noting this, began to lowre, and *Carmela* [M.'s sister] winking vpon her fellowes, answered her frownes with a smile, which doubled her grieffe. . . . Whiles thus there was banding of such lookes, as euerie one imported as much as an *impreso*, *Samela*, willing to see the fashion of these countrey yong frowes, cast her eyes abroad, and in viewing euerie face, at last her eyes glanced on the

The vindication of chastity by public trial occurs four times<sup>50a</sup> in Greene's works. Twice it is based wholly upon the story of Susanna: "Myrrour of Modestie" (III) and "Francescos Fortunes" (VIII). In "Philomela," as just set forth, Greene retains from the story of Susanna the false witnesses, but adds the *eloquentia* and *pathos* of Greek Romance. At its fourth occurrence—in "Pandosto" (IV), 258–262,—Greene has wholly discarded the scriptural—or apocryphal—tradition, and has enriched his theme, itself Heliodorean, with several elements from Heliodorus besides the *eloquentia* and *pathos* already mentioned. In fact, the trial scene in "Pandosto" is Greene's most ambitious effort in this kind. Pandosto having accused his Queen, Bel-laria, of unchastity, has sent to consult Apollo's oracle upon the question. The embassy returns from Delphi with the answer, sealed. It is to be opened in the hall of judgment, in the presence

lookes of *Melicertus*; whose countenance resembled so vnto her dead Lord, that as a woman astonied she stood staring on his face; but ashamed to gaze vpon a stranger she made restraint of her looks, and so taking her eye from one particular object, she sent it abroad to make general survey of their countrey demanours. But amidst all this gazing, he that had seene poore *Menaphon*, how, infected with a ieaious furie, he stared each man in the face, fearing their eyes should feed or surfet on his Mistres beautie: if they glaunst he thought straight they would be riuals . . . ; if they flatlie lookt, then there were deeply snared; if they once smiled on her, they had receyued some glance from Samela that made them so malepart; if she laught, she likte; and at that he began to frowne: thus sate poore *Menaphon*, all dinner while, pained with a thousand ieaious passions, keeping . . . his eyes watchmen of his loues."

<sup>50a</sup> Five times, if the dénouement of "Menaphon" be counted. (See *post*, pp. 426–428.)



of the nobles and commons, before the accusing King and the persecuted Queen, who is to be acquitted or convicted as publicly as she has been accused. The oracle is read; the Queen is cleared; "the commons gaue a great showt, reioysing and clapping their hands"; and the King confesses, repents, and promises amendment. But at this moment, word is brought of the sudden death of his son Garinter; "which newes so soone as *Bellaria* heard, surcharged before with extreame ioy, and now suppressed with heauy sorrowe, her vitall spirites were so stopped, that she fell downe presently dead"; "this sodaine sight so appalled the King's sences, that he sanck from his seate in a soũd," was carried away, and (p. 262) remained three days speechless. "His commons were as men in dispaire, so diuersly distressed: there was nothing but mourning and lamentation to be heard throughout al Bohemia: . . . this tragicall discourse of fortune so daunted them, as they went like shadows, not men."

Greene, lacking the grandiose descriptive power of Heliodorus, the sense of monumental background and spectacle, has yet, within his limitations, done his best to make a Heliodorean scene. Here we have, as the actuating cause of the assemblage, an oracle, and this is twice (at Delphos and again when the scroll is handed to the King) kept from the knowledge of the personages of the story, so that for them there is an accumulation of suspense, which increases their subsequent pathos. The estates of the realm then solemnly meet in a great *ensemble* scene in the

Hall of Justice: there is a trial, and, at that, a trial of chastity. This the oracle vindicates hieratically. The assemblage exhibits the appropriate *pathos*. At this happy moment, affairs take a sudden turn for the worse: Garinter dies, the Queen dies, the King is stricken. Again there is appropriate *pathos* on the part of the spectators and hearers. They and the author call the series of events a "tragicall discourse," and attribute it to Fortune. Finally, the scene marks the transition from the first part of the story, which deals with the fortunes of the older generation, to the second part, which deals with the fortunes of the younger. In its relation to the structure of the whole, then, as well as in its internal elements, it is strongly reminiscent of the ensemble passages of Heliodorus, most of which are likewise transitional; but especially reminiscent of his dénouement, where Chariclea's chastity is vindicated, and the Delphic oracle fulfilled, in a similar scene of spectacular publicity, pathos, and solemnity, with similar use of theatrical terminology, and similar attribution to Fortune.

It is the use of the Oracle, instead of the confession of perjured witnesses to vindicate the heroine's chastity, that chiefly distinguishes the trial scene in "Pandosto" from that in "Philo-mela." Greene's employment of the oracle, here and in "Menaphon," is worth dwelling on. In "Pandosto," from the point of view of the conscious imitator of Heliodorus, the oracle serves in general to bring about an *ensemble*-scene and to furnish the characteristic hieratic element.

Specifically, in the economy of the tale, it serves both to vindicate the Queen's chastity, and, like the oracle in "*Æthiopica*," II. xxxv, to promote the restoration of an exposed child; for, it says: "the King shall live without an heire, if that which is lost be not founde." It is couched in plain straightforward language; it is free from paradox; is eminently structural; and, again like Heliodorus's oracle, it fulfils itself by devious ways—the devious ways of Fortune under the control of the gods. Not so the oracle in "*Menaphon*." That is merely a verbal riddle, and serves only to keep the plot entangled and retarded. Arcadia being afflicted with a pestilence, King Democles sent to "Delphos" to get Apollo's oracle, which (XI) 34 came couched in paradoxical terms:

"... Dead men shall warre, and unborne babes  
shall frowne,  
And with their fawchens hew their foemen downe.  
When Lambes have Lions for their surest guide,  
... When swelling seas have neither ebbe nor tide,  
... Then looke *Arcadians* for a happie time."

This turns out to mean that Maximius, supposed to be dead, shall be found alive and fighting; that Pleusidippus his son, yet unborn, shall also fight; that the King and his daughter Sephestia shall masquerade as shepherds, and thus provide lions, viz., royalty, as guides for lambs; and that upon the coat of arms of Maximius and Pleusidippus shall appear a swelling sea,—which, being painted, has neither ebb nor tide! Of



course, the attempt was to imitate the paradoxical oracles in the "Æthiopica" and in Sidney's "Arcadia," but Greene has succeeded in producing only a quibble.

This absurdity Greene would fain make structural, by making Samela (Sephestia) set its fulfilment as the condition upon which she will wed Melicertus (Maximius—already her husband, but unrecognized). She (p. 114) "vowed marriage to him solemnly in presence of all the shepherds, but not to be solemnized till the Prophecie was fulfilled, mentioned in the beginning of this Historie." Again the object of imitation is in the "Æthiopica"—this time Chariclea's promise to marry Theagenes only after their restoration to Ethiopia in fulfilment of the oracle. But the condition set by Chariclea is reasonable, for to her the fulfilment of the oracle means, as she is perfectly aware, restoration to her parents and her country; while the similar condition set by Samela is quite without reason or motive. The oracle does not, as far as anyone has up to that point been informed, concern her at all: she has not been connected with it, nor can she know, as Chariclea knows, that its fulfilment will restore her to her father and her rank. Whereas in "Pandosto" the oracle brings about a real *peripeteia*, in "Menaphon" it is only pseudo-structural. Without it, the story would have begun, moved on, and ended, exactly as it now does.

The King's jealousy is the genuine "moving force" in "Pandosto." From it the remainder

of the story grows: the retreat of the King's friend, the persecution of the Queen, and the exposure of her daughter, with all its consequences. And here again a structural element is borrowed, with very slight change, from the "Æthiopica." It is to forestall the King's probable suspicion about the parentage of Chariclea that the Queen exposes her ("Æth.," II. xxxi; IV. viii). In "Pandosto" the King's actual suspicion of Fawnia's parentage occasions her exposure. (IV) 252: Pandosto "found out this devise, that seeing (as he thought) it came by fortune, so he would commit it to the charge of fortune"; and Bellaria, hearing of his resolve, cries: "Alas sweete infortunate babe, scarce borne, before envied by fortune, would the day of thy birth had beene the terme of thy life . . . (*ib.*, 253) and shalt thou, sweete Babe, be committed to Fortune, when thou art already spited by Fortune? . . . Let me put this chayne about thy little necke, that if fortune save thee, it may help to succour thee." The child's exposure because of her father's jealousy, the commitment of her to Fortune, the addition of tokens which the mother hopes may be of use to identify the child if found, the agonized speech by the mother when her child is exposed,—all these, even to verbal similarities, are parallel in Heliodorus and in Greene.

The exposure in "Pandosto" has its counterpart in "Menaphon,"—structural to be sure, but quite unmotivated—in the King's exposure of his daughter, with her husband, her infant son, and

her uncle, in an open boat. This act is the "motive force"; yet we never learn the King's reason for it. Towards the end of "Menaphon" (VI), 142—however, we do find a borrowing from Heliodorus that is both structural and motivated. King Democles, in love with Samela, orders that she and her favored lover Melicertus be imprisoned together alone. The situation is exactly analogous to that in the "Æthiopica" (VIII. x), where Queen Arsace, in love with Theagenes, orders that he and his beloved Chariclea be imprisoned together alone. Greene in this case has improved upon his original. Heliodorus assigns as Arsace's motive the desire to torture the lovers by affording to each the sight of the other's captivity:—a motive that no one with any knowledge of human nature could possibly entertain; for of course the joy of the lovers at seeing each other far exceeds their grief at seeing each other in prison. Greene supplies Democles with a much more plausible motive. Finding it impossible to gain Samela's favor, the King resolves that she shall die, and this under a conviction of unchastity. His confederate the jailer is to bring the charge, to which the lovers' imprisonment together gives color.

The "moment of last suspense" is the same in the "Æthiopica" (X. vii ff.), in "Menaphon" (VI), 142-3, and in "Pandosto" (IV), 314-15: A princess once exposed is restored to her father the King, who, not recognizing her as his daughter, orders her to be put to death.<sup>51</sup> The

<sup>51</sup> Greene in both "Pandosto" and "Menaphon" attributes to the King a motive not in Greek romance: Not rec-



*dénouement* too is parallel, even to verbal similarities,<sup>52</sup> in the "Æthiopica" and in "Menaphon." This will readily appear from the following comparison; in which the "moment of last suspense" is prefixed, for the sake of continuity:

"MENAPHON" (VI)

142-3. Sephestia, daughter of King Democles of Arcadia, having been exposed, is now restored, with her husband Maximius, to her father. She knows him, but he does not know her, and is about to have her and her husband put to death. Her son, though he does not know Sephestia to be his mother, remonstrates with the King on account of her beauty, but in vain. Furthermore, Maximius and Sephestia decline to save themselves by proving their identity and their marriage. The discovery is effected, at last, by the appearance of "an olde woman attired like a Prophetesse," who dis-

ognizing his daughter, the King falls in love with her, but finding her resolved not to yield, would punish her with death.

<sup>52</sup> For which Greene's source was, apparently, Underdowne's translation.

"ÆTHIOPICA" X

vii. Chariclea, daughter of King Hydaspes of Ethiopia, having been exposed, is now restored, with her husband Theagenes, to her father. She knows him, but he does not know her, and is about to have her and her husband put to death. Her mother, though she does not know Chariclea to be her daughter, remonstrates with the King on account of her beauty, but in vain. Furthermore, Theagenes and Chariclea decline to save themselves by proving their identity and their marriage. The discovery is effected, at last, by the appearance of two old priests—one a priest of the prophetic god,—who

closes the truth. The happy ending is the fulfilment of a Delphic oracle.

143. Pleusidippus "turned to the King, and sayd: Is it not pitie, *Democles*, such diuine beauty should be wrapt in cinders? . . . all the assistants grieved to see *so faire a creature* subject to the violent rage of *fortune*."

between them disclose the truth. The happy ending is the fulfilment of a Delphic oracle.

U 263. "Persina . . . said: O husband, what a maide have you appointed to be sacrificed? I knowe not whether ever I *saw so faire a creature* . . . What a beautifull visage hath shee? with how courageous a heart beareth shee this *fortune*?"

In "Menaphon" as in the "Æthiopica," both the concealment of identity and its hieratic disclosure are the more striking in that they are quite without motive. Maximius and Sephestia have not the slightest reason for not revealing who they are; and as for the old prophetess, she is simply dragged in: she has never been heard of before, and vanishes as soon as she has said her say. In both respects, at the expense of probability in his motivation and of structural coherence in his plot, Greene has made a manifest effort to parallel quite closely the ending of the "Æthiopica."

Thus it is that the influence of Heliodorus upon Greene goes deep. Unlike the influence of Achilles Tatius, it does not cease when it has given Greene incident and ornament, phrase and tag; but it gives him the basis and structural members of his romance—the actuating force, the

transitional scenes, the *peripeteia*, the moment of last suspense, the catastrophe.

Yet Greene, it should be remembered, is incapable of fully utilizing this legacy of form. The outcome of his labors is very different from the well-nigh faultless joinery exhibited in the "Æthiopica." He often leaves his personages uncharacterized or inconsistently characterized, their actions unmotivated or foolishly motivated, his plot wanting in essential links. He defeats expectation, not deliberately, but from forgetfulness or sheer incompetence. Near the beginning of "Mamillia" (II), 15, we hear of Florion, who, serving with Mamillia at the court of the Duke of Venice, has formed with her a friendship founded upon virtue. (16) He has had experience of women's wiles, and has gained wisdom. (18) He retires from court to the country at Sienna, and persuades Mamillia likewise to retire, to her father's house in Padua. (37-9) She receives a letter from him, warning her to beware of love. All this leads us to expect either that he will be the hero of the story, a virtuous cynical contemplative malcontent like Euphues (whom so far he has emulated), and a possible rival to the Machiavellian Pharicles, or that, if he is not to be a suitor to Mamillia, at least he is to be kept for future use, that he may prove a true friend when Pharicles has deserted her. But, after the comment (42) on his letter, nothing more is heard of him. He has been made only to be thrown away. He is not like the messenger whom Heliodorus created, and dropped when he had deliv-



ered his message ("Æth.," VI. iii, iv) or even like Greene's own awkward "prophetesse" in "Menaphon" (*ante*, pp. 427-8); for both of these had at least a place in the economy of the tale, and neither of them was at all characterized; while Florion is characterized at least in outline, and at the same time has nothing to do with the story. He is a false start, not erased from a finished work. Later in "Mamillia" (II. 135), Pharicles goes into voluntary exile in Sicily—why, no man knows. For it does not appear that Mamillia's family are seeking to punish him for his abandonment of her, or that he is retiring in order to overcome his new love for Publia—each a possible motive. There he is—and that is all. So it is in numerous instances throughout Greene's works.<sup>53</sup> But nothing exhibits more strikingly Greene's essential weaknesses in characterization and structure than "Menaphon" itself. Framed, as has been seen, upon the model of the "Æthiopica," and with the additional advantage of an English pattern in Sidney's "Arcadia," it is nevertheless the loosest thing Greene ever wrote. At the beginning (VI. 33) Democles is said to be "a man as iust in his censures as royall in his possessions, as carefull for the weale of his countrey, as the continuance of his diadem." But later we learn (*ib.*, 113) that, utterly without motive, he "committed his daughter with her tender babe, her husbände *Maximus*, and *Lamedon*, his unckle, without oare or mariner to the furie of the merciles waves"; the

<sup>53</sup> E. g., "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 134-5, as against 140-141; "Planetomachia" (V), *passim*.

result being that "his Queen with *Sephestiaes* losse (whō she deemed to be dead) tooke such thought, that within short time after she died."<sup>54</sup> Moreover (*ib.*) "he spent his time in all kinde of pleasures that either art or expence might affoord, so that for his dissolute life he seemed another *Heliogabalus*." And the remainder of his conduct throughout the second half of the tale wholly contradicts the initial assertion about him. Menaphon himself, who as a sort of a pastoral hero is meant to have our sympathy, turns Samela out of his house with insults (101, 2) because she rejects his love. Pleusidippus's shield, we learn (112) bears the device of Venus on the waves because he has been carried off by pirates. So this was not a family coat of arms. But when he fights (132-5) with his father, the latter bears the same device, and each is angry at the other's presumption. Samela, recognizing her father but unrecognized by him, allows him to woo her, and says nothing about their relationship. Pleusidippus her son, when he was stolen from her by pirates, was a well-grown boy, already a leader among his comrades, and certainly old enough to know his mother by sight and as a shepherdess named Samela. Yet back he comes to woo her, in ignorance, Greene would have us believe, of the fact that she is his mother. What Greene must bring about, in the face of nature, is this preposterous situation: a woman, betrothed to her husband, and courted

<sup>54</sup> Cf. "Pandosto" (IV), 261: Bellaria's death follows closely upon the exposure of one of her children and the death of another.

by her father and her son!<sup>55</sup> Apparently he seeks to outdo the famous situation in Sidney's "Arcadia": a man betrothed to a maiden and courted by her father and her mother. In like manner the absurd condition imposed by Sephestia—that the oracle must be fulfilled before she will marry Maximius (*ante*, p. 424); the absurd silence of the pair as to their identity (*ante*, p. 427); and the absurd old woman who discloses it (*ante*, p. 428); are all due to Greene's desire to emulate the "Æthiopica." In "Menaphon" at least, the imitation of Greek Romance is a hindrance rather than a help. It is otherwise in "Pandosto," the best of Greene's works, and the one which, as has been said, most fully exhibits the influence of Greek Romance. The final discussion both of "Pandosto" and of "Menaphon" is reserved until after a consideration of Greene's indebtedness to Longus.

Common to Greene and Longus, if not derived from Longus by Greene, is the employment of the pastoral as "an element in the harmonious solution of a longer story,"<sup>56</sup> a story of city or court. The long tradition of which this is a phase probably includes, broadly speaking, all those escapes from the life active to the life contemplative which afford relief to the course of epic narration: escapes to the Lower World, or to Fortunate Islands, or—as in Tasso's epic—to the country as well. Specifically, however, the

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Wolff, "Greene and the Italian Renaissance," p. 351.

<sup>56</sup> C. H. Herford, ed. "The Eversley Shakespeare": Introduction to "The Winter's Tale," Vol. IV, p. 268.



pastoral as a Renaissance *genre* is not so used, at least in its chief Italian examples: in Sannazaro there is only a suggestion—and that cryptic—of some grief which the author has suffered in Naples, and for which he seeks solace among the shepherds; the “Aminta” is purely a “favola boschereccia”; and the “Pastor Fido,” despite its elaborate apparatus of oracles, messengers, restorations, and recognitions (partly from Greek tragedy, partly from Greek romance) is also without the slightest urban enveloping action. Possibly, then, this employment of the pastoral is distinctive of Elizabethan fiction; at all events it is very general there. It occurs in Sidney’s “Arcadia”; in William Warner’s<sup>57</sup> story (in verse) of Argente and Curan (“Albions England,” IV. 20); in Lodge’s “Rosalynde” (and in “As You Like It”); in Greene’s “Tullies Love,” “Menaphon” and “Pandosto” (and in “The Winter’s Tale”).

The gentle ridicule of rustic speech, manners and attire has been remarked (*ante*, p. 122) as a natural result of the urban point of view. This ridicule is also common to Longus and Greene, if not derived by Greene from Day’s paraphrase of “Daphnis and Chloe.” “Pandosto,” containing Greene’s first pastoral, appeared in 1588, a year later than Day’s paraphrase; and it makes fun of Porrus’s holiday array (IV. 296) very much as Day makes fun of Dorcon’s efforts to render himself clean and acceptable in Chloe’s sight.

<sup>57</sup> Warner was acquainted with Heliodorus, whom he imitated in “Pan his Syrinx,” a collection of prose tales based on the “Æthiopica.” Oeftering, 96.

(Day 22-4; not in the original or in Amyot, but part of Day's interpolation to fill the lacuna. See *post*, Ap. A, p. 465-6.) Greene's other works that contain a pastoral element exhibit in every case this same ridicule. "Menaphon" (VI), 135-139, describes comically the rustic courtship of Doron and Carmela, (*ib.*) 119 quotes Doron's description of Samela in homely language full of bombast and bathos, and (*ib.*) 56-7 makes fun of Menaphon's own russet jacket and round slop, and of his honest russet and kersey efforts to entertain the fine folk his guests. In "Franciscos Fortunes" (VIII), 184 ff, the pastoral tale told by the host describes a comical ugly shepherd Mullidor, and his old mother Callena, who is proud of her lumpish son. In "Mourning Garment" (IX), 141-4, Philador finds in Thessaly a shepherd and his wife, whose homely costume—russet cloak, green coat, scarlet cassock, and the rest,—is detailed with a smile. In "Farewell to Folly" (IX), 265, Maesia, daughter of the exiled Countie Selydes, retires to the country to seek work, and encounters a wealthy farmer's son who takes her into his parents' service. His holiday finery is minutely described: "a strawne hat steeple-wise . . . tawnye worsted iacket . . . a pair of hose of red kersie, close trust with a point afore . . . his pompes were a little too heauie, being trimmed start-vps made of a paire of boote legges." The everyday clothes and the wedding outfit of Tomkins the Wheelwright and Kate the Milkmaid, in "Vision" (XII), 224-5, are similarly ridiculed.

Greene agrees with Longus again in (theoretically at least) excluding from his pastoral the activity of Fortune. Life among the shepherds is secure; for "Fortune is blinde, and must either misse of her aime, or shoote at a great marke: her boltes flie not so lowe as beggerie." ("Farewell," IX. 282.) That they who are down need fear no fall, is one of Greene's favorite sentiments<sup>58</sup> (cf. *ante*, p. 381); in general, "the poore estate scornes fortunes angrie frowne" ("Farewell," IX. 279) and to retire to the country is to safeguard oneself against her vicissitudes. "Royal Exchange" (VII), 242-3: "*Scipio the Affrican* after all his glorious victories sequestrating himselfe in a graunge place, beeing demanded why he woulde not live any longer in the Commonwealth, aunswered, for that [he was] flying from the iniuries of Fortune." But in practice Greene admits Fortune as a *vera causa* into his pastorals. Samela, Maximius, and Pleusidippus, in "Menaphon," and Fawnia, in "Pandosto," are still the playthings of Fortune after they have gone to live among the shepherds. In fact, Greene speaks of "Menaphon" as a "pastorall historie, conteyning the manifolde iniuries of fortune" (Epistle Dedicatory, VI. 5-6); and again, at the end of the tale (145-6), as "*this pastorall accident*"—which is precisely what it is.

The substitution by Longus of Love in For-

<sup>58</sup> "Menaphon" (VI), 38-9, 48-9; "Perimedes" (VII), 42, 59; "Farewell" (IX), 263, 279, 282; "Penelopes Web" (V), 178, 183, 185; "Pandosto" (IV), 249, 282; "Philomela" (XI), 192.



tune's place is paralleled, in Greene, by so close an association of Love and Fortune that Greene often leaves in doubt which of them is the *vera causa*. In "Censure" (VI), 180, Maedyna, struggling against her lawless passion for Vortymis, hopes "that time would weare out that which fond Love and Fortune had wrought." In "Menaphon" (VI) Love and Fortune are compared, and railed at together,<sup>59</sup> and (*ib.*, 103) Menaphon complains: "Love and Fortune proves my equall foes." In "Planetomachia" (V), 113, Psammetichus hearing that the woman he loves is Rhodope the courtesan, "beganne in most cruel termes to exclaime against Love and Fortune."<sup>60</sup> Together, Love and Fortune favor the bold.<sup>61</sup> Love itself is the effect of Fate or

<sup>59</sup> "The thoughtes of a lover never continue scarce a minute in one passion, but as Fortunes globe, so is fancies seate variable and inconstant."

Cf. Propertius, II. viii:

Omnia vertuntur, certe vertuntur amores:

Vinceris, aut vincis, haec in amore rota est.

On an antique engraved gem, Eros is represented on Fortune's wheel (Furtwängler, "Berlin" 6767; Reinach, plate 75, no. 26).

<sup>60</sup> Other passages in which Love and Fortune coöperate, with functions undifferentiated: "Pandosto," IV. 281; "Perimedes," VII. 47; "Never too Late," VIII. 43, 65; "Francescos Fortunes," VIII. 134; "Alcida," IX. 67, 93; "Mourning Garment," IX. 158; "Philomela," XI. 174; "Orpharion," XII. 39. In still other passages, Love is opposed by Fortune, the Fates, etc., and thus becomes a phase of *Virtù* (cf. *ante*, p. 386, n. 30). In "Censure," VI, 160, Achilles declares: "Exteriour actions are tyed to the Wynges of Fortune, but thoughts as they are passionate, so they are within the compasse of Fancy." Fortune is against Love in "Carde of Fancie," IV. 55, 148, 154-5, 169, 183, 184, 186; "Censure," VI. 186-7; "Pandosto," IV. 290; "Tullies Love," VII. 188-9.

<sup>61</sup> "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 80; "Alcida" (IX), 33-4, 35.

Fortune; it is destined, and hence irresistible.<sup>62</sup> Love also shares Fortune's function of bringing about those bizarre situations which lead to antithesis and oxymoron. In "Tullies Love" (VII), 140, Flavia exclaims: "With what little proportion doth iniurious love bestowe his favors? With how small regarde doth blinde fortune powre out hir treasures? Making in all their actions contrarities,<sup>63</sup> that so they may triumph." Here, of course, Greene's practice coincides with the Petrarchistic tradition of the Renaissance, which expresses love conventionally by means of "contrarities";<sup>64</sup> but it would be

<sup>62</sup> "Philomela" (XI), 127; "Alcida" (IX), 37; "Morando" (III), 99-108; "Arbasto" (III), 213; "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 92, 121, 169. For the same reason, Love is paramount to law, to friendship, to filial duty,—to every other consideration whatever. So "Carde of Fancie" (IV), 69-70, 79, 190-191; "Pandosto" (IV), 237-8, 277; "Planetomachia" (V), 62; "Censure" (VI), 178; "Perimedes" (VII), 73; "Alcida" (IX), 32;—(the last five passages repeating each other almost *verbatim*)—; "Philomela" (XI), 140; "Orpharion" (XII), 30-31.

<sup>63</sup> "Contrarities" is the regular term for the antitheses growing out of a difficult situation. Pettie, "Pallace of Pleasure," fol. 57v. (quoted by Bond): "... departed into her chamber . . . where she entred with herselfe into these contrarities" [*sic*]. Lyly, "Euphues," I. 205: Lucilla, "all the company being departed to their lodgings, entred into these termes and contrarities." In each case there follows the usual antithetical soliloquy.

<sup>64</sup> "Arbasto," III. 203: Love is "a paine shadowed with pleasure, and a ioy stuffed with miserie." (Repeated *verbatim* in "Alcida," IX. 40.) "Debate," IV. 221: "... how many sundrie passions doe perplexe the poore passionate Louers . . . : as to have ones heart separated from himselfe, to bee now in peace and then in war, . . . seeking that carefullie which hee seemeth to flie, and yet doubtfullie dreading not to finde it . . . to burne in colde

hazardous to say that Greene was not affected by the antithetical treatment of love in "Daphnis and Chloe."<sup>65</sup>

Greene's direct borrowings from Longus are few. In "Menaphon," VI. 91 the abduction of Pleusidippus parallels in some detail the abduction of Daphnis ("D and C," I. xxviii; Day, 41-2). Both abductions are accomplished by pirates who have stolen cattle, but who at sight of the boy desire him more than their other booty. The passages are here transcribed.

and freeze in heate, to bee crossed altogether with contraries." "Alcida," IX. 31: "Louers . . . count not themselves happy, but in their supposed unhappinesse: beeing at most ease in disquiet; at greatest rest, when they are most troubled; seeking contentation in care, delight in misery, and hunting greedily after that which alwaies breedeth endlesse harme."

<sup>65</sup> Some miscellaneous phases of love-doctrine common to Greene and to Greek Romance may be noted here. Love enters the heart through the eye: "Menaphon," VI. 63, 85; "Mourning Garment," IX. 168-9. Lovers' souls meet in a kiss: "Philomela," XI. 124. Love feeds the eye and closes the stomach: "Menaphon," VI. 54, 57; "Tullies Love," VII. 116; "Alcida," IX. 79; "Mourning Garment," IX. 166-7; "Orpharion," XII. 70-72. Love gives the lover virtue and courage: "Morando," III. 90 ff; in fact it metamorphoses his character: "Carde of Fancie," IV. 48-9; "Tullies Love," VII. 185-9 (cf. *ante*, p. 374). Throughout his earlier works Greene continually alludes to Greek erotic legends; e. g., "Morando," III. 67 Danae; Cephalus and Procris; 70 Eriphile; 73 Phillis and Demophon; Paris and Oenone; Uliesses and Circes; Campaspe, Apelles, and Alexander; 82 Polipheme and Galatea; 83 Ariadne; Medea; 105 Echo and Narcissus; Salmacis; Biblis; Hylonome; 115 Achillis and Polixena.



"DAPHNIS AND  
CHLOE," I.

xxviii

DAY, 41-2

"MENAPHON,"  
VI. 91

Τύριοι λησται  
... ἤλασάν τινας  
καὶ βοῦς ... Λαμ-  
βάνουσιν καὶ τὸν  
Δάφνιν ἀλύοντα  
παρὰ τὴν θάλασ-  
σαν. Ἰδόντες δὲ  
μειράκιον μέγα  
καὶ καλὸν κρείτ-  
τον τῆς ἐξ ἀγ-  
ρῶν ἀρπαγῆς,  
μηκέτι μηδὲν ἐς  
τὰς αἶγας, μηδ'  
ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους  
ἀγροὺς περιε-  
γασάμενοι, κατῆ-  
γον αὐτὸν.

"Certaine ro-  
uers of Tyre . . .  
robbed and spoil-  
ed the seelie Dor-  
con of all his  
beastes and cat-  
tell . . . And  
coursing as they  
were up and down  
in the Island,  
Daphnis by ill  
hap walking on  
the sea-banke,  
was by them sur-  
prised, . . . the  
rouers seeing this  
yong youth, faire,  
seemly, and  
strong, and think-  
ing him of better  
regard than any  
part else of their  
prize, they made  
no further pur-  
sute after his  
goates . . ."

"*Pleusidippus*  
on a time  
walking on the  
shore, . . . there  
arrived on the  
strond a *Thes-  
salian* Pirate  
named *Eurilo-  
chus*, who after  
he had forraged  
in the *Arcadian*  
confines, driuing  
before him a  
large bootie of  
beasts to his  
ships, espied this  
pretie infant;  
when gazing on  
his face, . . . his  
thought never  
thirsted so much  
after any pray,  
as this pretie  
*Pleusidippus* pos-  
session."

As this is the last of the numerous borrowings from Greek Romance that enter into the composition of "Menaphon," it is now possible to assign to each of these borrowings its place in the whole, as well as to estimate the relative im-

portance of the Greek Romances, of Sidney's "Arcadia," and of Warner's story of Argentile and Curan, as sources of Greene's romance. The detailed discussion thus required will be rendered more intelligible by a brief summary of "Menaphon":

A plague having visited Arcadia, King Democles receives from "Delphos" a riddling oracle, which bids the Arcadians look for a happy time when certain apparently impossible conditions shall have been fulfilled. Later—(how much later does not appear)—the King causes his daughter Sephestia, her husband Maximius, her infant son Pleusidippus, and her uncle Lamedon to be set adrift in a boat without mariner, oar or sail. (The reason for this inhumanity does not appear.) The Queen, Sephestia's mother, dies of grief. The castaways, except Maximius, whom Sephestia believes to be lost, are wrecked upon the coast of Arcadia in sight of Menaphon, the King's chief shepherd, who receives them into his cottage and falls in love with Sephestia. She tells him that her name is Samela, and that she comes from Cyprus; and keeps him in play with doubtful and dilatory answers to his suit. At a gathering of the shepherds, Sephestia sees the supposed shepherd Melicertus—really her husband Maximius disguised, who has reached the shore in safety. He sees her too, and is struck with her resemblance to his lost wife; she with his resemblance to her lost husband! They fall in love afresh. Stung by jealousy, Menaphon insults Sephestia, who with her uncle and son leaves his house and sets up a cottage of her own. Melicertus courts her and gives her a "Description of his Mistres," as if he

has had another. She promises to be his wife when the oracle is fulfilled! Pleusidippus, now a well-grown boy, and a leader among his playfellows, is seized by pirates on the shore and sent by them to the King of Thrace as a gift. His beauty wins him gentle treatment; he is knighted; and the King means that his own daughter Olympia shall be Pleusidippus's wife. The young people are willing, but there has reached Thrace the report of the beauty of Samela, the Arcadian shepherdess, and Pleusidippus cannot rest till he has beheld her. He goes to Arcadia and falls in love with her! Democles too has heard of her, and is now in disguise among the shepherds in order to woo her. She repulses both her father and her son, recognizing the former but saying nothing! Democles persuades Pleusidippus to carry her off to a castle of the King's near by, and there tries by threats to compel her to yield. A party of shepherds led by Melicertus comes to her rescue; and Melicertus and Pleusidippus are about to engage in single combat, when Democles, who sees that, whoever wins, he must lose, induces them to postpone their fight three days. In the interval he sends for troops, whom he places in ambush near the lists. Melicertus and Pleusidippus having fought awhile are both taken prisoners by these troops, who overawe the shepherds. Pleusidippus, as a favorite of the powerful King of Thrace, is soon released, but Melicertus and Samela are imprisoned together, for Democles has resolved to put them both to death. They are led forth to execution; but just before the fatal stroke "there stept out on olde woman attired like a Prophetesse, who cryed out Villaine holde thy hand," told who Melicertus, Pleusidippus, and Samela really were, and declared that the oracle was fulfilled. "At this, the people gaue a great shout,



and the olde woman vanisht." The King of Thrace is sent for, with his daughter, whom Pleusidippus marries. Menaphon, unable to get Samela, marries his old love Pesana; and the comic pastoral lovers, Doron and Carmela, are married too.

It has been thought<sup>66</sup> that "Menaphon" is derived from William Warner's tale of Argentile and Curan, in "Albions England" (1586), Bk. IV, ch. 20. The extent of the indebtedness will be clear from the following summary:

Argentile, daughter of King Adelbright, is left by his death to the guardianship of his brother, King Edel, who has shared with him the Kingdom of Diria. False to his trust, and wishing to usurp Argentile's share, Edel will not give her in marriage to any man of her own rank. But Curan, "sonne unto a prince in Danske," has fallen in love with her, and, in order to gain access to her, becomes a kitchen drudge in Edel's court. He reveals to her his love and his parentage, but she rejects him. Edel favors this supposedly base match, and Argentile, in order to escape it, flees from court. Curan becomes a shepherd. After two years he falls in love with a neighboring neatherd's maid, and in telling her his love, confesses that he formerly loved another, whom he describes. The neatherd's maid is Argentile, who now returns Curan's love. They are married; and Curan reconquers her kingdom.

<sup>66</sup> Joseph Quincy Adams, "Greene's 'Menaphon' and 'The Thracian Wonder,'" in *Modern Philology*, III. 317-18; cited with approval by J. W. H. Atkins, in "The Cambridge History of English Literature," III. ch. xvi, p. 406. (Mr. Adams's "Thomas Forde's 'Love's Labyrinth'" derives "Argentile and Curan" from "Havelok the Dane.")

Common to Warner's story and to Greene's are the meeting of royal persons in the country as shepherd and shepherdess, their failure to recognize one another, their falling in love, the lover's acknowledgment that he has had another mistress, his giving his new mistress a description of her, and the actual identity of the new mistress with the old.

More numerous and rather more important are Greene's imitations of Sidney:

"Arcadia."	"Menaphon."
(Name) Pyrocles	(Name) Democles.
(Name) Pamela, a princess in rustic retirement.	(Name) Samela, a princess in rustic retirement.
(Name) Dorus, a prince disguised as a shepherd	(Name) Doron, a shepherd.
Setting: Arcadia	Setting: Arcadia.
Paradoxical Oracle to King of Arcadia.	Paradoxical Oracle to King of Arcadia.
(Also in "Æthiopica").	
A prince of Thessaly.	A King of Thessaly.
Wife of King of Arcadia was born in Cyprus.	Daughter of King of Arcadia feigns that she was born in Cyprus.
Hero is cast ashore in sight of shepherds, who rescue him.	Heroine is cast ashore in sight of shepherd, who rescues her.
Zelmane, betrothed to Philoclea, is wooed by both Basilus and Gynecia, his betrothed's father and mother, respectively.	Sephestia, betrothed to Maximus, is wooed by both Democles and Pleusidippus, her own father and son, respectively.
Pamela, a prisoner in the castle of her suitor, is threatened if she will not yield.	Samela, a prisoner in the castle of her suitor, is threatened if she will not yield.

And the artless disclosure of the oracle at the very beginning of "Menaphon," together with

the movement of the story chronologically from that point on, are probably due to Greene's inability to master the complicated technique of the "New Arcadia." He contents himself here with imitating the "Old Arcadia," which quotes the oracle at the beginning, and moves thence forward in order of time.

Most numerous, and most important because most structural, are the elements taken over into "Menaphon" from Greek Romance. These will now be gathered together in brief summary, each with a reference to its separate and more detailed discussion in the foregoing pages:

Paradoxical oracle. *Ante*, p. 422 (cf. "Æthiopica").

Exposure of King's daughter. *Ante*, p. 425 (cf. "Æthiopica").

Shipwreck of King's daughter and her husband results in their restoration. *Ante*, p. 410 (cf. "Æthiopica").

Heroine quick at making up a false story of her birth, parentage and country. *Ante*, p. 412, n. 43. (cf. "Æthiopica").

Menaphon, before he has seen Samela, disdains love. *Ante*, p. 413-414 (cf. "Æthiopica" and "Clitophon and Leucippe").

Close association of Love and Fortune in a pastoral. *Ante*, pp. 435-436 (cf. "Daphnis and Chloe").

King's daughter finds her native land more dangerous than foreign lands: antithesis dwelt upon; verbal parallel. *Ante*, p. 415 (cf. "Æthiopica").



Gentle ridicule of rustic manners and dress. *Ante*, pp. 433-4 (cf. "Daphnis and Chloe").

"Pathetic optics" of Melicertus and Samela's meeting, *Ante*, p. 419, n. 50 (cf. "Æthiopica").

Boy carried off by pirates: detail. *Ante*, p. 439 (cf. "Daphnis and Chloe").

Heroine betrothes herself with understanding that marriage not to be consummated till fulfilment of oracle. *Ante*, p. 424 (cf. "Æthiopica").

Heroine and her lover-husband imprisoned together. *Ante*, pp. 425-6 (cf. "Æthiopica").

"Moment of last suspense"; silence as to identity; hieratic agent of catastrophe; recognition; fulfilment of oracle; etc., in detail, with verbal parallel. *Ante*, pp. 426-8 (cf. "Æthiopica").

Thus in compounding "Menaphon" Greene took something from Warner; more from Sidney, and, through him, from Greek Romance; and most from Greek Romance direct.

Other than "Menaphon," "Pandosto" is the only one of Greene's romances to use material from "Daphnis and Chloe." And as the borrowings of "Pandosto" from Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius have already been discussed in detail, the borrowings from Longus will now be set forth in their place as parts of the whole, in the course of a general summary similar to that just given (*ante*, p. 444) in the case of "Menaphon." The plot of "Pandosto," however, need not be analyzed here; in its large outline the same as that of "The Winter's Tale,"

which is based upon it, it may be assumed to be well known.

As soon as Greene has finished with the immediate consequences of his opening situation—the jealousy of King Pandosto and the imprisonment of his Queen, Bellaria—the earmarks of Greek Romance begin to appear. Heliodorus's turn comes first. Pandosto's infant daughter—later called Fawnia—is exposed for reasons and under circumstances the same as those in the case of Chariclea (*ante*, p. 424): father's jealous suspicion; commitment of child to Fortune; addition of tokens for identification; mother's lament. Deeper, though less specific, is the impress of the "Æthiopica" upon the trial-scene, with its attempt to borrow, not *motif* and incident only, but the Heliodorean *method*: transitional ensemble scene; trial and vindication of chastity; oracle vindicating chastity and promoting restoration of exposed child; suspense; *pathos*; sudden turn; theatrical activity of Fortune (*ante*, pp. 420-421).

Upon Bellaria's death, the interest shifts to the fortunes of Fawnia among the shepherds. For these, constituting the second part of his romance, Greene may have taken a hint from the fortunes of Chariclea, who was likewise reared by shepherds ("Æth.," IV. viii). But it could have been only a hint. Heliodorus does not enlarge upon the pastoral bringing up of his heroine; and clearly enough the obvious source for pastoral detail would be "Daphnis and Chloe." In fact, with the death of the King's son and heir Garin-

ter (*ante*, p. 421); Longus enters Greene's story, not to leave it till the pastoral portion of it is done. Greene borrows from Longus this *Motif* of the death of the elder after the exposure of the younger child, and numerous details and incidents of the finding of Fawnia, of her rural life, and of her foster-father's discovery of her to her real father. These he obtains, mostly, by compounding particulars regarding Daphnis with corresponding particulars regarding Chloe, and using the composite for Fawnia. The Table on pp. 448-450 shows Greene's borrowings, and shows, too, (see \*) that Greene used Day's version, taking from it several details that are not in the Greek or in Amyot.



TABLE

	Daphnis and Chloe.			Pandosto.	Winter's Tale.
	Original.	Amyot.	Day.		
After exposure of younger child, older child (heir) dies suddenly, thus making recovery of younger child especially desirable. <sup>67</sup> .....	IV, xxiv	142	148		
Sheep or goat strays .....	I. ii, v	6, 8	6, 9	258, 261	III. ii, 138 ff
Herdsmen think it lost. ....	I. v	6, 8	6, 9	265	III. iii, 66
Seeking it he finds exposed child.....	I. ii, v	6, 9	6-7, 9	265	III. iii, 65-6
Child turns head to seek the teat.....	I. v	9	10	265	III. iii, 68
	Teat present			Teat absent but desired	
Child wears rich attire .....	I. ii	6	7	265	V. ii, 32-3
	Purple mantle, gold brooch			Scarlet mantle, gold necklace	"The mantle of Queen Hermione, her jewel about the neck of it."
Incongruity between child's attire and present fortunes remarked upon.....	I. ii	6	10	266	
Herdsmen think his find divine.....	I. vi	9	11	265	
Herdsmen at first tempted to take treasure and abandon child, but decides to take both .....	I. iii	6-7	7	266	

<sup>67</sup> In "D. and C.," Daphnis's father has, besides Daphnis, *three* older children. Of these, two, a boy and a girl, die suddenly after the exposure of Daphnis, still leaving one, a boy, to be the heir whether Daphnis is found or not. Greene improves upon his original by giving Pandosto only *one* child (Garinter) other than Fawnia; so that when Garinter dies, Pandosto is indeed "without heir if that which is lost be not found." In thus sharpening the point of the story, Shakespeare follows Greene.

TABLE.—Continued

	Daphnis and Chloe.			Pandosto.	Winter's Tale.
	Original.	Amyot.	Day.		
Takes them home <i>secretly</i> .....			* 10	* 267	III. iii, 118-120 S. substitutes a <i>son</i> for the wife.
His wife is childless .....			* 8	* 268	
His wife lulls the baby .....			* 8	* 268	III. iii, 118-120 (Bids his <i>son</i> keep it secret).
His wife is solicitous to lock up the treasure			* 8	* 268	
Herdsmen bids his wife keep the find secret	I. vi	9	⊕	268	
The couple adopt the child and treat it as their own .....	I. iii, vi	7, 9	8, 11	268-9	IV. i, 27
Child sent to tend flock or herd .....	I. viii	11	13	269	IV. iv, 69, 442
Performs duties diligently .....	I. viii	11-12	14	269, 270	cf. IV. iv, 69
Flock or herd prospers .....	IV. xiv	132	142	269	{ IV. iv, 156-9 V. ii, 35-7
Child grows up so beautiful as to suggest birth or associations not rustic .....	I. vii	10	11	269	IV. iv, 73 ff
Child wears chaplet .....	I. xxiii	29	* 35	* 270, 281	
	of boughs		of boughs and flowers		
			distributes flowers		

TABLE.—Continued

	Daphnis and Chloe.			Pandosto.	Winter's Tale.
	Original.	Amyot.	Day.		
Child looks like a nymph or a goddess....	I. xxiv	29	35, 6	269, 270	IV. iv, 2, 9-10
Rustic wooers come.....	I. xix	23-4	27-28	269	
	III. xxv	104	127	269	
			*127	*269	
Their fathers are wealthy.....					
Herdsmen receive advice about taking care of girl's chastity <sup>68</sup> .....	III. xxv	104-5	127	292, 293	
Before disclosing find, herdsman tells his wife that he is resolved to do so.....	IV. xviii	137	⊕	294	IV. iv, 676-689 (Tells his son)
In situation of danger to the child, herds- man discloses to child's father, not know- ing him to be such, the circumstances under which child was found; child saved from danger and restored to birth- right; shepherd rewarded.....	IV. xix, xxxiii	138-9 (148) 150-151	144-6 (151) 152	315-17	

<sup>68</sup> The original is without antithesis or jest: ἡ τὰχα μικρὸν ὑστερον νέμouσα τὴν παρθέναν ἀπολεῖ. "Maybe, soon, while herding, she will lose her maidenhead." Amyot introduces a point: "elle pourroit, à l'aventure bien tost, en gardant ses bestes par les champs, perdre son pucelage." Day follows him: "if she fortun'd once in keeping of *sheepe* to lose *hir maidenhead*." Greene expands and dilutes the jest, and makes two of it: first a neighbor counsels the shepherd "to keepe his daughter at home, least she went so oft to the field that she brought him home a yong sonne"; then the shepherd's wife warns him not to meddle in the prince's love-affair, "least in saving *Fawnias* maydē-head, you loose your owne head."



Between the shepherd's resolve and his disclosure (see last two entries in the Table), Dorastus and Fawnia elope on shipboard, and are at first favored by Fortune with fair winds, but are soon overtaken by a storm and driven to Bohemia, a country at that time hostile to them (302). The shipwreck of eloping lovers upon a hostile shore is of course an inevitable incident of Greek Romance, and occurs both to Clitophon and Leucippe (III. i-iv) and to Theagenes and Chariclea (V. xxvii-xxviii). Next, before Fawnia is identified by means of the shepherd's disclosure of the circumstances under which he found her, Pandosto, not knowing who she is, woos her brutally, with threats and insults like those of Thersander to Leucippe (A. T., VI. xx). And now appears a *motif* from Heliodorus again: King Pandosto not knowing his daughter Fawnia, who after her exposure has been restored to him, orders her to be put to death (314-315). The incident comes from the "Æthiopica": King Hydaspes, not knowing his daughter Chariclea, who after her exposure has been restored to him, orders her to be put to death (X. vii ff.). In each story this incident occupies the same position and performs the same structural function: it gives a "moment of last suspense" before the final disclosure, recognition, and happy ending (*ante*, pp. 426 ff).

Much of the foregoing material, taken by Greene from the Greek Romances, and embodied in "Pandosto," Shakespeare in turn takes over into "The Winter's Tale." He discards the

borrowings from Achilles Tatius—the brutal wooing—for he is not going to let Leontes woo Perdita. But he utilizes some of Greene's borrowings from Heliodorus and most of those from Longus. The exposure with tokens, the express commitment to Fortune, ("W. T.," II. iii, 179 ff), and the trial scene, with its oracle and peripeteia, are in Shakespeare as in Greene. How largely the pastoral details borrowed by "Pandosto" from "Daphnis and Chloe" figure again in "The Winter's Tale" appears from the Table already referred to.

Shakespeare may, indeed, have taken most of these details directly from "Daphnis and Chloe" quite as well as from "Pandosto." The Table shows that all but two ( $\oplus$ ) are in Day as well as in Greene. Moreover, there is in "The Winter's Tale" one detail hitherto unmentioned, which Shakespeare might have found in Day, but could not have found in Greene at all. These facts point to the probability that Day's "Daphnis and Chloe" is not only a secondary but a primary source of "The Winter's Tale."

The detail just mentioned is that of the hunt (W. T., III. iii); and it is important because it is more than an ornament, like Chloe's and Fawnia's garland, and Perdita's flowers; it is structural to the play—an essential of its dramatic economy. If one may be permitted to reason such a matter out *a priori*, the hunt appears to be necessitated in some such way as this: Shakespeare seems to have desired to employ, in "The Winter's Tale," normal causation and human motive wherever

possible, instead of chance. This desire would render him dissatisfied with Greene's easy fashion of letting mere Fortune cast the child on the coast of the very country where reigns the unjustly suspected friend of her father,—the country where that friend's son will afterward fall in love with this very child grown to girlhood. Shakespeare perhaps realized that while a romancer might properly ask such a favor of Fortune—notoriously the guide and mistress of Romance, yet a dramatist was bound more closely to probability. For the purpose, then, of getting the child exposed in Bohemia and nowhere else, he invented Antigonus. Leontes commissions Antigonus to expose it somewhere, and Antigonus's own belief in Hermione's guilt—together with the request of Hermione's phantom in a dream supposed to be sent by Apollo—leads him to expose it in Bohemia, the country of the child's supposed father:

*Ant.*

"I do believe

Hermione hath suffered death, and that  
Apollo would, this being indeed the issue  
Of King Polixenes, it should here be laid,  
Either for life or death, upon the earth  
Of its right father."

(W. T., III. iii, 41 ff.)

Once invented, however, Antigonus must be killed as soon as he has performed his task of exposing Perdita; and this both for the sake of poetic justice, because he is willing to carry out his King's cruel behest, and for the sake of put-



ting him completely out of the way, that Leontes may not learn from him of Perdita's fate. Something is needed to kill Antigonus.

Together with this need arises the need for some plausible means of inducing a shepherd, who would not ordinarily walk along the beach, to go thither and find the exposed child. In "Daphnis and Chloe" the children are found inland, in a thicket and a cave respectively; there is no question of the seaside or of any reason why the herdsman should walk there; and, furthermore, the straying of the she-goat and the ewe, which leads the herdsman to the child, is motivated by the desire to give it suck. Greene had eliminated this motive, but at the same time had given himself a new problem in having the child cast *ashore*, and thus requiring that the shepherd be led thither. This problem he slurred over, simply letting the sheep stray for no particular reason and letting the shepherd hear the child cry. With such careless motivation and dependence upon chance Shakespeare was apparently as dissatisfied as he was with the fortuitous casting of the child upon just the shore where it would later be required.

Both problems he finds solved at once in another passage of "Daphnis and Chloe,"—a passage which gives him both the means to punish Antigonus and the means to drive the sheep to the seaside. This is the incident ("D. and C.," II. xiii) of the young Methymnaeans' hunting, the noise of which frightens the sheep and goats from their upland pastures down to the shore.

What more consonant with dramatic economy than that Shakespeare should have borrowed this hunt, and have used it both to send the bear that devours Antigonus, and at the same time to frighten the sheep away from the hills so that the shepherd must seek them along the shore and there find the child? This, at any rate, is the use Shakespeare has made of the hunt.

Now, the *motif* of the hunt is not in Greene. There is no reason to suppose that Shakespeare invented it, when it lay ready to his hand in Day's version of "Daphnis and Chloe" (64-65).

Shakespeare has thus substituted natural causation and human agency in the place of Fortune, to bring about first Perdita's exposure in Bohemia, and next the finding of her by the shepherd. In the same way he rejects the storm, which, in "Pandosto" (302), by chance again, sent Dorastus and Fawnia to the land of her hostile father; and substitutes for it Camillo's deliberate advice and Florizel's avowed decision to visit Leontes in Sicillia ("W. T.," IV. iv, 546 ff). At no less than three points, then, all of them structural, the *τύχη* of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, the overworked Fortune of Greene, gives place, in Shakespeare, to motive and probable cause. The familiar material of Greek Romance, selected haphazard by the writer of English fiction, has undergone at the hands of the dramatist a second process of sifting,—this time with full artistic intent.

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Considered at large, the influence of the Greek Romances upon Greene exhibits a definite chron-

ological movement. It begins with mere transcripts from Achilles Tatius in "Arbasto" (1584), "Morando" (1587; ? 1584) and "Carde of Fancie" (1587; ? 1584)—a stage of immaturity and superficiality, which, in the main, borrows non-structural ornament. "Philomela," which seems to fall in immediately after this group, shows Greene taking less from Achilles Tatius (only the trial at the end), and more from Heliodorus, chiefly by way of incident,—not yet by way of structure. The influence of the Greek Romances reaches its height in "Pandosto" (1588), which takes a little from Achilles Tatius, but now gets structure as well as matter from the solid Heliodorus, together with incident and ornament from the decorative Longus. The influence degenerates at once in "Menaphon" (1589), which, though structurally based upon Heliodorus, is a tissue of absurdities—apparently one of those pamphlets that Greene "yarkt up in a night and a day"; a "pot-boiler" in imitation of the "Arcadia" and of his own successful "Pandosto," many of whose *motifs* it repeats in thin disguise. Almost ceasing in the realistic pamphlets of Greene's last years, the influence of Greek Romance flickers up for a moment in his half-realistic, half-autobiographical "Groatsworth" (1592)—appropriately enough in the form of a suggestion from Achilles Tatius (*ante*, p. 406), who is thus, as has been said, Greene's first and latest love among the Greek Romancers.

If it be asked what was the effect of the Greek Romances upon Greene as a literary artist, the



answer must in general be negative. Despite his appropriation, for the nonce, of their material and their structure, Greene never assimilated these, as he assimilated Euphuism and as he assimilated the Italian *novella*, so as to be able to originate them. Unlike Sidney, he never learned to invent Romances of his own, as he did learn to invent *novelle* of his own. The nearest he can come to Greek Romance is in some of its faults—its *tychomania*, its general dearth of character, its distorted “psychology,” its labored antitheses. When he attempts the sustained elaborate oracle-guided plot of Heliodorus, he fails even with the “Arcadia” before him as model. When he attempts the Heliodorean setting, he fails again. The best he can do with Longus is to take over his *motifs* directly; the best he can do with Achilles Tatius is to transcribe almost verbatim his adventitious ornament.

To the English novel, therefore, the Greek Romances make only an inconsiderable contribution through Greene. It would be interesting, though idle, to speculate what might have been the result had Greene been ready to learn from Greek Romance what Lyly learned at second or third hand, the lesson of articulation of material,—a lesson spread upon every page of Boccaccio; or had he, like Sidney, been capable of acquiring at first hand the full practice of Heliodorus’s technique. One might as well wonder what would have been the result had Greene possessed a strong sense of causal nexus, of motive, of character, and of setting. In the first case, he

would have produced, like Sidney, Greek Romance in English; in the second he would have produced an English novel. Needless to say, he did neither. The best of Greene, and the best of what Greene found in Greek Romance, is in "The Winter's Tale."

## CHAPTER IV

### THOMAS NASH AND THOMAS LODGE

Nash makes no use whatever of the Greek Romances.

Lodge alludes twice to the "*Æthiopica*." At the beginning of "Forbonius and Prisceria" (published with "An Alarum against Usurers," 1584) he places the scene "In *Memphis* (the chieftest citie of *Aegypt*) . . . at such time as *Sisimithres* was head Priest of the same, & *Hidaspes* gouernour of the Prouince"; and he makes his heroine the daughter of "*Valduuia*, daughter and heire of *Theagines* of *Greece*, the copartner of sorrowe with *Caricleala*, the straunge borne childe of the Aegyptian King" (Hunterian Club ed., I, 53, 54—modern paging). So that Prisceria is a granddaughter of Heliodorus's hero and heroine. Her pedigree argues the popularity of the "*Æthiopica*"; Lodge would have no motive for professing to continue a story that was not widely and favorably known. Lodge's own story, however, shows no other trace of Heliodorus.

In the "History of Robert, Second Duke of Normandy" 1591 (Hunterian Club ed., II, 52), the Soldan of Babylon, in love with Emine, daughter of the Emperor of Rome, asks his peers not to disapprove the match:

"Princes woonder not, Theagines a Greeke,



loued Cariclia a Moore, & your Souldan a Mahometist, his Emine a Christian."

The remainder of this tale, like "Forbonius and Prisceria," shows not the slightest indebtedness to Heliodorus.

Nor does Lodge in general exhibit the influence of Greek Romance. An incident or two, an antithesis, a habit of using the pastoral to bring about the happy ending of an urban story,—these, which might be attributable to the "Æthiopica" or to "Daphnis and Chloe" if their evidence were corroborated, fall short of probative force, and are not worth citation. Lodge's prose fiction on the whole is mediaeval, Euphuistic, and Italianate rather than Hellenistic.

## CONCLUSION

The influence of Greek Romance is variously felt by the chief writers of Elizabethan prose fiction. Lyly feels it as a tradition of certain conventions of form adapted to the treatment of the theme of *Two Friends*; and it thus economizes his effort in developing and articulating the plot of "*Euphues*." Lodge scarcely feels it; Nash feels it not at all. Greene gets from it a quantity of ornament and tinsel, and an abortive impulse towards structure. Only in Sidney does Greek Romance find a talent both receptive and constructive. Sidney alone moves freely among the materials and the structures offered him by Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius,—selecting, combining, separating, adding matter of his own or from other sources; working, when he will, in the spirit of his original, without borrowing a specific thing; working, when he will, in a spirit of his own that transforms even specific borrowings. He alone exhibits the untrammelled stride of the literary artist who, having closed the books that constitute his "sources," has their contents in his mind, remembered abundantly, but not remembered so exactly as to be inflexible. Above all, he alone among the Elizabethans has developed further on his own account, and has actually brought nearer perfection, the complex architectonics of Greek Romance.

And it was in this direction that English fiction was tending. The *novella* had had a magnificent, a double "fortune" in England. It had inspired similar English *novelle*, so easily turned, for example, by Greene; and then it had found upon the Elizabethan stage the form most completely expressive of that single dramatic situation wherein the essence of the *novella* consists. But now, in the Seventeenth Century, its vogue was passing away. The drama was declining; and fiction was turning to the more elaborate, expansive, and structural form of the romance, from which it was acquiring the *longue haleine* that is the condition precedent to the novel. As Rohde has suggested, the relation of the *novella* to the romance of the Seventeenth Century—and, we may add, to the modern novel—is much the same as the relation of the Milesian Tales to the "Æthiopica." In neither case does the greater form build itself up out of the lesser: the difference is a difference in kind.

It is probable that during the Seventeenth Century the chief influence of Greek Romance form upon English fiction came rather through the French romances than through any Elizabethan work. Yet to assert that, as far as later English fiction is concerned, Elizabethan fiction is a closed system, with its only issue opening into the drama, would be a hard saying indeed. Sidney's "Arcadia," long surviving the vogue of "Euphues" and of Greene's tales, remained popular throughout the Seventeenth Century, and alive well into the Eighteenth. Categorically to deny to it a



share in building up the novel that was to come would be extremely rash. It seems safer to say that when at length character and personality entered English fiction, the frame had been prepared for them, at least in part, by the labors of Sidney. Certain it is that Richardson,<sup>1</sup> certain it is that Scott,<sup>2</sup> knew the "Arcadia," and used it; more, that they used somewhat in the "Arcadia" which the "Arcadia" got from Greek Romance.

In general, then, it appears not only that the Greek Romances contributed variously to Elizabethan fiction itself, but also that, mediately, by way of Elizabethan fiction, they made two distinct further contributions to English literature. The one contribution, which is quite beyond doubt, is a contribution to the drama: it can be definitely identified at its highest in "King Lear" and in "The Winter's Tale." The other contribution—the contribution to the development of the novel—will remain somewhat problematic

<sup>1</sup> Richardson's indebtedness to Sidney does not seem to have been thoroughly investigated. All that has been noticed is, I believe, the borrowed name "Pamela" (Gassmeyer, p. 11; Poetzsche, p. 41). A quite desultory examination turns up two interesting parallels, of which the second is very significant. (1) Clarissa's threat of suicide to save her honor ("Clarissa," IV, p. 160) may be an imitation of Philoclea's similar threat in a similar situation—viz. captivity in the house of a lover ("Arcadia," III, xxiv). (2) Miss Byron's abduction by Sir Hargrave Pollexfen ("Grandison," v. I, Letter xxii ff.), another abduction meant to force a lady to yield to a lover, is apparently a reminiscence of the similar abduction of the Arcadian princesses ("Arcadia," III); it takes place at a masquerade, to which Miss Byron goes as "an Arcadian princess."

<sup>2</sup> Wolff, "Scott's *Ivanhoe* and Sidney's *Arcadia*." Kerlin, "Scott's *Ivanhoe* and Sidney's *Arcadia*."

until the exact nature of the influence of Elizabethan fiction upon the Eighteenth Century is cleared up. Meanwhile it seems not too much to suggest, tentatively, as a proposition not yet fully established but not lightly to be denied, that the Greek Romances, partly through French Romance of the Seventeenth Century, partly through a single Elizabethan Romance—the “Arcadia,” helped to give to the English novel that gift which Greek literature has so often conferred,—the gift of sustained and complex form. Just as the “Arcadia,” the only work of Elizabethan fiction possessing such form, was also the only work of Elizabethan fiction to exert a lasting influence, so whatever of the Greek Romances may survive in the modern novel is not their illusion, but that architectonic power in them which despite themselves makes against illusion and toward law.

## APPENDIX A

### TEXTUAL NOTES ON THE RELATION BETWEEN DAY'S AND AMYOT'S VERSIONS OF "DAPHNIS AND CHLOE"

(Arabic numbers at left refer to pages in Da.)

#### PROOEMIUM

Da omits the Prooemium.

#### BOOK I

13. *Inserts* stanza of prayer to the winged god.  
19-25. *Inserts* in the hiatus (not filled authentically until 1809 by P. L. Courier) an interpolation apparently his own. It begins p. 19: "The louely shepehard thus raized up from so depe a dongeon," and ends, p. 25, "... hee brake into these farther complaints." Information given by the preserved text after the lacuna enabled Day to supply several points in the lacuna itself,—viz. that Dorco was the name of the cowherd who had helped to rescue Daphnis from the pit; that Dorco was in love with Chloe; that Dorco had given Daphnis<sup>1</sup> a calf; that love

<sup>1</sup> The authentic passage found by Courier makes the calf a gift to *Chloe* ("D. & C.," I. xv, D 136, line 21 sqq.). Daphnis's soliloquy, without the light shed on it by the fragment, leaves the recipient unindicated ("D. & C.," I. xviii, D 137, line 25-6). Amyot, in doubt, made *Daphnis* the recipient: "J'ay souvent baisé . . . le petit veau que Dorcon m'a donné" (A 23). Day followed him: "Often have I kissed . . . that fine speckled calf that Dorcon did give me" (Da 25); and accordingly made his reconstruc-



had arisen between Daphnis and Chloe; and that Chloe had given Daphnis a kiss. But the remainder Day must have cut out of the whole cloth:—the *sentiments* of Daphnis; the gifts, other than the calf, brought by Dorco to Daphnis and Chloe;<sup>2</sup> and Dorco's efforts to make himself agreeable by becoming neater in person and attire. For this last a hint may have come to Day from Amyot's version of the end of Daphnis's soliloquy: "Dorcon a la fin deviendra plus beau que moy" (23).

33-34. *Expands* the account of D. and C.'s emotions upon their meeting after the night of sleep induced by fatigue; and *adds* much of his own thereto. (I. xxii-xxiii; A 28; B 278.)

35-6. *Expands* comparison of Chloe to a nymph. (I. xxiv; A 29; B 279.) Omits D. & C.'s sportive pelting of each other with apples. (I. xxiv; A 30; B 279.)

36-7, 37-8. *Inserts* two songs sung by Daphnis. Omits Daphnis's kissing the stops of the flute touched by Chloe's lips. (I. xxiv; A 301; B 279.)

47. *Inserts* at the end of his First Book, a prose paragraph beginning "And thus continuing in these variable fits liued pore Daphnis"; and an amoeboeic duo in verse between D. and C.

## BOOK II

49-52. *Expands* the vintage-scene,—especially the women's commendation of Daphnis's beauty, tion of the missing portion consistent: "To *Daphnis* besides gave hee (sc. Dorcon) a yong fatte calfe from the damme" (Da 23).

<sup>2</sup> By a happy chance, he hit upon cheeses and flowers.

and the incident of the kiss bestowed on him by one of them. (II. i-ii; A 41-3; B 285.)

61-62. *Greatly abridges* the musings of D. & C. upon the remedies for love as suggested by Philetas, their dreams thereon, and their attempts to find these remedies. (II. viii-xi, incl.; A 49-53; B 290-1;—from the end of Philetas's speech to the beginning of the episode of the Methymnaeans.) *Omits* the accident that somewhat forwards these attempts. (II. x-xi; A 52-3; B 291.)

62. *Inserts* a set of verses—a love-plaint to be carved by Daphnis upon the bark of trees.

66. *Abridges* the pleas of the Methymnaeans and of Daphnis. (II. xv-xvi; A 57-8; B 293-4.)

69-70. *Inserts* set of verses—the complaint of Daphnis to the Nymphs.

72. *Expands* and pads out the speech of the nymph in Daphnis's vision. (II. xxiii; A 65; B 297.) *Omits* the nymph's attribution of the care of D. & C. to *Love*; and *inserts* statements attributing it to the Nymphs.

82. *Inserts* a "ruffull complaint" in verse, "chaunted forth by Daphnis."

### BOOK III

98-100. *Omits* Daphnis's drinking from the same cup as Chloe. (III, viii; A 89; B 310.) *Shortens* Daphnis's winter visit by *omitting* all account of the second day thereof. (III, x-xi; A 90-91; B 311.) (This second day he makes the shepherds' holiday.)

100-123. *Omits* from his Third Book every-

thing in A from the end of Daphnis's winter visit to the end of the Book (onward from III. xii; D 158; A 91; B 310)—nearly three quarters of the original Book. The omitted portion includes (a) the coming of spring; (b) the lesson in love; (c) the sailors' song; (d) the myth of Echo; (e) Daphnis's dream of the treasure, his finding of it, and his suit for Chloe with it; (f) the idyl of the apple. *Inserts* in place of these "The Shepherds' Holiday"—a barren and frigid invention of his own in praise of Queen Elizabeth; and so fills out and concludes his Third Book.

#### BOOK IV

124-135. *Transposes* to the opening of his Fourth Book most of the matter omitted from his Third,—viz. (a), (c), (d), (e), (f).

124-5. *Abridges* (a). (III. xii-xiv; A 91-95; B 311-313.) *Omits* (b). (III. xv-xx; xxiv; A 95-100; 103-4; B 313-16; 318.)

125. *Abridges* (c). (III. xxi; A 100-102; B 316-17.)

125-7. *Gives* (d) in full. (III. xxii, xxiii; A 102-3; B 317-18.)

130-133. *Slightly abridges* (e), omitting the dolphin. (III. xxv-xxxii; A 104-114; B 319-23.)

134-5. *Slightly abridges* (f), omitting the odor of the fruit. (III. xxxiii, xxxiv; A 115-117; B 324-5.)

136. *Greatly abridges* the description of Lammon's garden, omitting the view to be had from it; and the paintings in the temple of Bacchus. (IV. ii-iii; A 119-21; B 326.)



142-3. *Abridges* and *greatly weakens* the description of Daphnis as he first appeared to Dionysophanes and Clearista. (IV. xiv; A 132, B 133.)

143. *Omits* Daphnis's performance with the musically trained goats. (IV. xv; A 133; B 333.)

143. *Omits* Gnatho's description of Daphnis. (IV. xvii; A 135-6; B 335.) *Omits* Gnatho's arguments, and slightly abridges the whole incident, but retains its essentials. (IV. xvii; A 135-6; B 335-6.)

148. *Confuses* Dionysophanes's account of the exposure of Daphnis (IV. xxiv; A 142) and introduces "Sophrosine his man" from IV. xxi; A 140; at the same time changing the sex of this "nostre servante Sophrosyne."

149-50. *Abridges* Chloe's lament upon Daphnis's supposed desertion of her. (IV. xxvii; A 145; B 340.) *Omits* Daphnis's soliloquy upon hearing that Lampis has carried off Chloe. (IV. xxviii; A 146; B 341.)

Towards end of Fourth Book. *Omits* the dream of Dionysophanes (IV. xxiv; A 152; B 344) and the dream of Megacles (IV. xxxv; A 154; B 345).

At end of Fourth Book. *Omits* the account of D. & C.'s children, and of D. & C.'s devotion to Eros, Pan, and the Nymphs. (IV. xxxix; A 156; B 346.)

## APPENDIX B

### NOTES AND TRANSCRIPTS: "CLIFFORD" MS. OF SIDNEY'S "ARCADIA"

Fol. 2 recto begins: "The first Booke or Acte of the Countefis of Pembrookes Arcadia." ("Arcadia" ends on fol. 216 recto.)

2 verso. Oracle to Basilius, *Duke* of Arcadia.

3-4. Philanax discusses it.

4v. Basilius's family and his disposition of its members. *Ibid.* Account of Evarchus, the just King of Macedon; his war with Kings of Thrace, Pannonia and Epyrus, who invade his kingdom.

5r. He sends "his youngest sonne Pyrocles (at that tyme but six years olde) to his sister the Dowager & Regent of Thessalia, there to be brought vp wt her sonne Musidorus. . . . And so grewe they vntill Pyrocles came to be xvij and Musidorus xvij yeares of age: At whiche tyme Evarchus," having conquered Thrace and taken up his residence in "the principal city of Thrace called at that tyme Bisantium . . . sent for hys sonne and newew to delyght his aged eyes in them . . . But so pleased yt god, who reserved them to greater traverses bothe of good and evill fortune, that the sea . . . stirred to terrible tempest, forced them to fall from theyre course, vpon the coaste of Lydia. Where, what befell vnto them, what valyant actes they did, passing, in one yeares space, throughe the lesser Asia, Syria and Egipt, how many Ladyes they de-

fended from wronges, and disinherited persons restored to theyre righte, yt ys a worke for a higher style then myne; This only shall suffice, that, theyre fame returned . . . fast before them into Greece." Returning towards Macedon 5v. "and so taking Arcadia in theyre way, for the fame of the contry, they came thether newly after that this straunge solitarynes had possessed Basilius. . . . They lodged in the house of Kerpenus (Karpenus? Kersenus?) a principall gentleman in Mantinea . . . " where "walking with his hoste in a fayre gallery (Pyrocles) perceyved a picture" of the Duke and Duchess, and Philoclea, and fell in love at once.

6r.-8v. Pyrocles discusses love with Musidorus, whose opinion is harsh.

8v. Confesses to Musidorus his love for Philoclea, and his resolve "to take uppon mee the estate of an Amazon Lady goyng aboute the worlde, to practize feates of chivalry, and to seeke my self a worthy husband." Pyrocles is disguised. (13-13v.) His Amazon attire is described. He becomes *Cleophila*.

14v. Pyrocles meets Dametas.

17. Is taken to the Duke, who falls in love.

19v. Musidorus, already in love with Pamela, and disguised as shepherd, sings a love-plaint.

20. *Sidney* (not Mus.) explains that Mus. has fallen in love with Pamela.

23. The lion and the bear.

27. "Here endes the ffirste Book or Acte."

28. "Here begins The First Eglogues."

33. (Part of First Eclogues). The shepherd



Histor relates how he has heard the complaint of "an Iberian nobleman called Plangus (vttered to the wyse shepherde Boulon)": Plangus had lodged with Histor and had told his story. (The story is that of Erona, daughter of a "Kinge of Lidia," of her father, and of Antiphilus (33v.), whom she would have married after her father's death; of an attack made upon her by King *Otones*, who wished her for himself; of his sister *Artaxia*, who accompanied his army and sought to mollify him, but in vain; and of how he besieged Erona. At that time there landed in Lidia the two Princes Pyrocles and Musidorus (34), who rescued her, killed *Otones*, and rescued Antiphilus.

34v. *Artaxia* inconsolable for loss of her brother. Antiphilus makes overtures to her, and is taken in an ambush and killed. Erona is imprisoned; if not rescued within two years by Pyrocles and Musidorus she is to be burned at the stake.

35-43. Plangus seeks rescue.

43v. The Second Booke or Acte.

66. "Here endes the Second Booke or Acte."

66v. "Here Begin the Second Eglogues."

72-74v. (Part of Second Eclogues). Histor sings the plaint that he overheard Plangus make to Boulon: "Alas how longe this pilgrimage dothe last."

76. Histor relates to Pamela the adventures of the Princes after they left Erona. A giant in *Paphlagonia*, by means of a dragon, levied tribute consisting of girls and young men. Pyrocles and

Musidorus offered themselves and killed both dragon and giant. (75v.) Next they arbitrated a dispute between two brothers concerning the throne of Syria.

76. One brother they caused to marry the heiress of Paphlagonia. Next "the great Lady of Palestina, called Andromana," sought their aid against an Arabian prince, and then fell in love with Pyrocles and Musidorus. (76v.) She imprisoned them; but when the Arabian prince thereupon bade fair to conquer the country, the people released them. Later Andromana married an applemonger! The Princes went into Egypt.

77. Near the City of Memphis, they rescued Thermuthis from villains who were about to murder him. He was servant to Amasis, Prince of Egypt, and told his master's story:

"Amasis, sonne and heyre to Sesostris, Kinge of Egipt" was pledged in love to Artaxia, but was solicited by his young stepmother (not named) who being rejected began to hate him (77v.), and plotted to ruin him. She feigned love to Thermuthis, Amasis's servant, whom she corrupted; and then began to accuse Amasis to his father, as having attempted her chastity. Further, she procured Thermuthis to disguise himself as the Prince, and be ready to murder the King. But when she would have had him apprehended, he fled, was pursued (78), and found by Pyrocles and Musidorus as aforesaid. Meanwhile Amasis had been by his father's orders set adrift in a ship on the Red Sea. Pyrocles

and Musidorus rescued him and got Thermuthis to tell his story to Sesostris, who restored Amasis to favor. The guilty stepmother killed herself.

79v. So much did Histor tell of Plangus's account of the adventures of Pyrocles and Musidorus. Basilius cut him short in their praises, fearing lest Cleophila should be kindled thereby with love for Pyrocles! So he called Philisides to sing. The remainder of the Second Eclogue contains no further narrative.

82. "Here ende the Second Eglogues and Second Booke."

82v. "The Thirde Booke or Acte": "Cleophila . . . went to the same place, where first shee had reveyled unto hym (Musidorus) her inclosed passyon, and was by hym as you may remember with a ffrendly sharpenes reprehended. There sitting downe amongst the sweete flowers wherof that contry was very plentyfull, and in the pleasant shade of a Brodeleaved Sicamor, they recompted one to another theyre straunge pilgrimage of passyons, omitting no thinge w<sup>ch</sup> th<sup>r</sup> open harted ffrendship ys wonte to lay forth," etc.

Ed. 1627, p. 347 (after the gap):

"After that *Basilius* (according to the Oracles promise) had receiued home his daughters, and settled himself again in his solitary course & accustomed company, there passed not many daies ere the now fully recomforted *Dorus* having waited a time of *Zelmanes* walking alone towards her little Arbor, took leave of his master Dametas' husbandry to follow her. Neare



whereunto ouertaking her, and sitting downe together among the sweet flowers whereof that place was very plentiful, vnder the pleasant shade of a broad-leaued Sycamor, they recounted," etc.

[This is the point of junction between the Old and the New Arcadia.]

121. "The Third Eglogues."

130v. "Here ende the Thirde Booke and Third Eglogues." (Contain no narrative matter—either episodes or earlier history of Princes.)

131-166. "The Fourth Booke or Acte." Corresponds, at beginning—with slight changes—and at ending, with Fourth Book in ed. 1627).

166. "The Ende of the Fourthe Booke."

166v. "Here Begin the Fourthe Eglogues."

177v. "Here ende the Fourth Eglogues, and the Fourthe Booke or Acte."

The Fourth Eglogues contain no episodes, or early history of Pyrocles and Musidorus; but contain autobiographical passage about Philisides (transcribed by Dobell, p. 91-93). Fourth Book corresponds to Fourth Book of 1627.

178-216. "The Ffifte and Last Booke or Acte." (Begins and ends at same points as Bk. Five of 1627. Begins: "The dangerous division of mens mindes"; ends: "Wherewith myne is allready dulled.")

216. *But* the list of *unfinished episodes* left to another pen to complete *differs*, in that the MS *omits* Helen and Amphialus and *mentions* Amasis and Artaxia. Thus:

"But the solempnityes of the Marriages with

the Arcadian pastoralls full of many Comicall adventures happening to those Rurall Lovers, *the strange story of the fayre Queen Artaxia of Persia and Erona of Lydia with the Prince Plan-gus wonderfull chaunces whome the later had sent to Pyrocles, and the extreme affection Amasis Kinge of Egipt bare unto the former: the Sheperdish Loves of Menalcas with Kalo-dulus daughter,*" etc.

(So also Ashburnham MS *ad fin.*)

## APPENDIX C

### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON WM. BURTON'S TRANSLATION OF ACHILLES TATIUS

The following account is reprinted from the (London) *Times* Weekly Edition Literary Supplement for Friday, February 10, 1905.

#### AN ELIZABETHAN DISCOVERY

Mr. R. A. Peddie writes to us from St. Bride Foundation, Bride-lane, E.C., announcing a discovery of much interest to bibliographers which he has recently made—a copy, namely, of a hitherto uncatalogued and undescribed Elizabethan translation of Achilles Tatius.

Of the earliest specimens of Greek fiction little is known save from lexical works such as the *Bibliotheca* of Photius. Among the earliest specimens are the "Erotica" of Achilles Tatius, who is generally supposed to have been a contemporary of the shadowy Musaeus, inspirer of Marlowe's immortal lay of "Hero and Leander." From the somewhat conjectural authority of the *Dictionary of Suidas* we gather that Tatius was an Alexandrian Greek and a highly renowned rhetorician. Originally a pagan, he eventually became a Christian and a Bishop. The romance by which he is known bears no kind of episcopal impress. On the contrary, the improbable story that Heliodorus was obliged to choose between



recalling his "Aethiopica" or resigning his see would be much more applicable to Tattius and his erotic fable. Modelled upon the "Theagenes and Chariclea" of Heliodorus, with many suggestions from Plato, the tale of Clitophon and his Leucippe was manifestly designed to air the graces of a consummate rhetorician. This is clearly shown in the opening scene (suggested, perhaps, by descriptions in the "Amores" and "Imagines" of Lucian), in which the narrator is introduced to us admiring a picture of the rape of Europa in the Temple of Venus at Sidon, and thinking his impressions aloud, when he is suddenly addressed by a young Phoenician named Clitophon, who tells the sympathetic connoisseur a long-drawn story of tangled love (*τὰ κατὰ Λευκιππην καὶ Κλειτοφῶντα*). The story is a tedious, and in all respects mediocre, patchwork, as compared, for instance, with the work of Heliodorus or Longus; but the diction and style are accounted excellent, and the descriptions have received the compliment of innumerable imitations. The work was highly popular, and was multiplied regularly during the Middle Ages. The first critical edition, however, was that undertaken by Jerome Commelinus, and printed at Heidelberg in 1601, together with the "Daphnis and Chloe" of Longus; but a much superior edition, based upon fresh collations, was that undertaken by Milton's enemy, Salmasius, and printed by Heger, with a charming frontispiece, at Leyden in 1640—this edition is still in demand, though it is eclipsed in completeness by

the Leipzig issue of 1776 with Boden's notes, and by the volume in Didot's "Erotici Scriptores," 1856, in which the ancient Latin translation of Annibal della Croce (originally printed by Gryphius at Lyons in 1544) was retouched by Hirschig. A French translation by Claude Colet goes back as far as 1545. The earliest complete Italian version that we have seen is that of Coccio, Venice, 1560, though a substantial fragment had been rendered by Ludovico Dolce in 1547. The French took most kindly to the tale and translated it again and again. The most *recherché* edition is that of Jean Baudoin, the translator of Sidney, with a delicious frontispiece by Abraham Bosse (Paris, 1635), a book which we can feel morally certain was in the library of the author of "Manon Lescaut." The English version commonly referred to is that of Anthony Hodges "The Loves of Clitophon and Leucippe; A most elegant History written in Greeke by Achilles Tatius: and now Englished" (Oxford, 1638). The previous translation of Burton seems to have been entirely ignored by the friends of the 1638 translator (including the poet Richard Lovelace), who prefix glowing commendatory verses to his sufficiently agreeable and idiomatic performance. This emphasizes the interest of Mr. Peddie's discovery, and gives rise to the suspicion that episcopal activity may have suppressed the original version. The year 1597 was the identical one in which the Archbishop caused the "Amores" of Marlowe to be publicly burnt.

Mr. Peddie's letter is as follows:

"The first English translation of Achilles Tatius is one of those books of which every one has heard, but which no one appears to have seen. No bibliographer gives a description of the work which even suggests that he had seen a copy. The entry in the Stationers' Registers (Arber, III. 81), is as follows:

"Vto Aprilis [1597] Thomas Creede Entred for his copie vnder th[e h]andes of master Barlowe and master warden Dawson a booke entituled 'The most delectable and plesant historye of Clitophon and Leucippe,' written in Greeke, by Achilles Stacius and Alexandrian, and nowe newlie translated into Englishe by W. B. . . . vjd.

"The W. B. given as the translator was William Burton (1575-1645), author of the 'Description of Leicestershire,' and elder brother of Robert Burton, author of the 'Anatomy of Melancholy.' Mr. A. H. Bullen, in his article on William Burton, in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' Vol. 8, p. 18, says:

"In his manuscript 'Antiquitates de Lindley' (an epitome of which is given in Nichols's 'Leicestershire,' IV. 651-6) he states that on applying himself to the study of law he still continued to cultivate literature, and he mentions that he wrote in 1596 an unpublished Latin comedy 'De Amoribus Perinthii et Tyanthes,' and in 1597 a translation (also unpublished) of 'Achilles Tatius.'

"The last statement is altogether unfounded, as will be seen from the following passage from the MS. mentioned:



“ . . . Anno sequenti transtulit in linguam vernaculam historiam Achillis Statii de Amoribus Clitophontis et Leucippes impressam Londini 1597, per Thomam Creede.” Nichols’s “Leicestershire,” IV. 653.

“I have been fortunate enough to discover a copy of this exceedingly rare Tudor translation in the library of Mr. A. T. Porter. He acquired it in 1897 from the *débris* of an old library believed to come from the neighborhood of Winchester. The copy, unfortunately, is not perfect—wanting three leaves—but, otherwise, it is in good condition. The collation is A-U. 4. It may be described as follows: A. i. [? blank] wanting. A. ii [Title] wanting. A. iii. Dedication ‘To the Right Honourable Henry Wriothesley, Earle of Southampton, and Baron of Titchfield, W. B. wisheth continuance of health, with prosperous estate and felicitie.’ The Dedication continues on the verso, and is signed ‘Your Honours in all dutie: W. B.’ A. iv “To the Curteous Reader.’ An address. Signed ‘Your friend, W.B.’ B. i The text. U. iv is wanting, and no doubt is the only leaf wanting at the end.

“The book adds another to the list of those dedicated to Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton (1573–1624). Mr. Sidney Lee, in his article on Wriothesley, in the “Dictionary of National Biography,” gives the names of several, but does not mention this one. Wriothesley gave a collection of books to St. John’s College, Cambridge. Is it possible there may be a copy of the Clitophon and Leucippe amongst them?”

The suggestion that the older translation may be in the St. John's College Library is not confirmed by Cowie's "Catalogue," nor is there a copy in the library at Britwell.

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To this I may add, from an examination of the volume (August 20, 1910), that the text on B 1 recto begins: "The first Booke of Achilles Statius, of the loue of Clitiphon and Leucippe"; that the running title is: "A most pleasant Historie of Clitiphon and Leucippe"; and that the text ends on U 3 verso with the words: "And as shee was a virgin when he tooke her away: so he suffered her to continue as before he had promised: but hee himselfe in handling  
[catchword] many "

The story is thus brought within a paragraph of its close; so that, as Mr. Peddie says, not more than one leaf can there be wanting.

The Librarian of St. John's College, as I am informed by Mr. Porter, reports, after a search, that no copy of this volume exists in the College Library.

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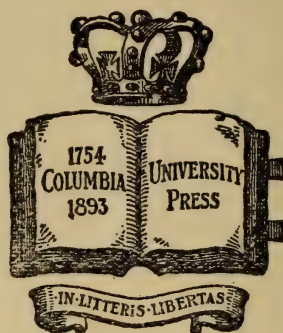


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